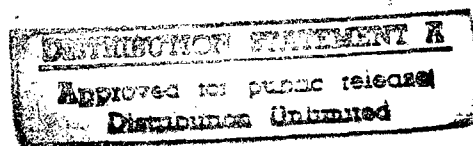


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# ***JPRS Report***



# **Near East & South Asia**

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# Near East & South Asia

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31 July 1991

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**Gerasimov Interviewed on Arab Affairs, Peace Process**

91AA0444A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
14 Jun 91 p 8

[Interview with Soviet Ambassador to Portugal Gen-nadiy Gerasimov; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir has rejected an American plan for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. He has insisted on not giving any role to the United Nations and on convening only one joint meeting, after which negotiations would take place in bilateral meetings. He has also demanded the right to veto any Palestinian delegation which he does not help select. What is your opinion on Mr. Shamir's conditions?

[Gerasimov] They are negative positions regarding the United Nations' role. First of all, it was a UN resolution that established his state, the state of Israel, and his idea of the international conference being initially an open conference and then becoming closed sessions does not pass for the idea of a conference. Rather, it transforms it into a one-day review. In my opinion, the main problem is that the Shamir government does not at all desire a conference. It believes that time is working to Israel's advantage, and it believes that the establishment of difficult conditions and impediments will succeed in making the world refuse to have anything to do with efforts to convene a conference.

This is my reading of the situation, and I do not believe that it is optimistic.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Do you believe that time is actually working in favor of the Israeli Government?

[Gerasimov] They believe so now, because the Arab countries are suffering from problems, especially regarding the position or attitude of each one on the conference. These Arab disagreements help Shamir.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What would the Soviet Union's position be if Prime Minister Shamir refuses to attend any peace conference?

[Gerasimov] The Soviet Union supports the idea of convening a conference. As is well-known, the Soviet Union and the United States would have auspices over this conference. We will continue to employ every diplomatic means in our power to put additional pressure on Israel to agree to a conference and to respect UN resolutions 242 and 338.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Which pressures will you apply?

[Gerasimov] They are matters that will be applied in the diplomatic sphere. For example, we currently do not have full diplomatic relations with Israel. It desires diplomatic relations, but we refuse. This refusal can be

classified as diplomatic pressure, because we maintain that we favor the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel only when we begin the peace process.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Are the Arabs expecting you to exert pressure regarding the construction of settlements in the occupied territories?

[Gerasimov] We are applying many pressures.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] David Levy, the Israeli foreign minister, stated that all of the discussions taking place between them and the Americans aim to strengthen cooperation between Israel and the United States. If that is the case, how can the region obtain a just peace?

[Gerasimov] I stated that the Shamir government does not desire a conference. However, a just peace can be achieved, as the Soviet Union proposes, by convening a peace conference in which all of the Arab countries and the Palestinians participate.

Of course, there are other ideas for establishing peace in the region, including President Bush's plan to destroy all chemical and nuclear weapons in the Middle East. There are other plans to prevent the export of arms in general to the region. However, the conference remains the basis for reaching peace.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] The Soviet Union has so far not agreed to join Britain, France, America, and China in a conference that is expected to convene next month in Paris to discuss limiting the sale of arms to the Middle East region. Is that because Moscow requires hard currency, which is generated by arms sales?

[Gerasimov] I do not know the reason. However, I do know that we support the principle of negotiations to limit arms sales to every place in the world, especially the Middle East.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] In your opinion, why does Shamir reject the exchange of land for peace?

[Gerasimov] Ask him. I have already answered this question. Shamir is playing for time, and he believes that time is on his side. That is my explanation of his behavior.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What would happen if the initiative of American Secretary of State James Baker fails and all of the promises of peace following the Gulf war become a mere illusion?

[Gerasimov] Fine, we will continue the same line all the way. We must continue through diplomatic efforts.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] By continuing, will the process remain alive?

[Gerasimov] Yes, because we must keep the peace process alive. We must not allow it to die. Or, as they say in Israel, we must keep the pot boiling.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Is there a joint Soviet-American initiative on the horizon for the peace process?

[Gerasimov] The peace conference about which we spoke is a joint initiative. It is under the auspices of the two countries. The Soviet Union and the United States have agreed that, when the sessions of this conference begin, we will regularly examine the progress of the conference. Hence, that is our role. It is a type of duty and commitment.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] But what will the goal of the conference be? Is not everyone discussing only the form of the negotiations and the formation of delegations?

[Gerasimov] Important points are now being discussed—the continuity of the conference, disagreements between Israel and the other countries, the United Nation's participation. These are important topics. However, Israel is stubborn and is not moving one step further on these matters, because it wants to torpedo the conference in general. It does not want a conference.

I talk with some Israeli officials. They talk about continuity, about a single session, or about a number of sessions. However, in actuality, they do not want a conference at all.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Does their rejection of a conference mean that they do not want peace?

[Gerasimov] What more can I add after telling you that they believe that time is on their side?

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] When King Husayn called for transcending the taboos that have prevented Arabs and Israelis from talking to each other, Minister Ari'el Sharon stated that he would invite King Husayn to drink a cup of coffee with him and would then tell him: You are no longer the king of Jordan, because Jordan is Palestine. How do you explain this Israeli reaction?

[Gerasimov] It is an old story. They have been repeating it for a long time. However, who would accept Jordan becoming Palestine? The Soviet Union would not agree. We have a Palestinian embassy in Moscow. We also have a Jordanian embassy. They are two different embassies.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Why, in your opinion, does Israel reject a role for the PLO in the peace process?

[Gerasimov] Because it wants to demonstrate that the Palestinians do not exist. It wants to misconstrue reality by stating that they are Jordanians. However, Israel is contradicting itself, because the policy of suppression which it pursues, and which led to the uprising, has helped the Palestinians enrich their national identity.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Let us now move to the situation in the Soviet Union. How can the Arab countries help the Soviet Union move beyond its economic crisis?

[Gerasimov] To my knowledge, we have loans from Kuwait that are from before the war. That is all I know. My presence in Lisbon has left me unprepared to know how the Arab countries can help.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Several observers have said that the West will listen to President Gorbachev, but will provide aid and support to Boris Yeltsin. Have you heard this?

[Gerasimov] Not at all. Moreover, I heard something different. What I heard is that, officially, the leaders of the Western countries support perestroika, and the leader of perestroika is President Gorbachev. They support him and they will support him.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Soviet foreign minister, stated that the Soviet Union is on the brink of chaos, and that the West's reluctance to support President Gorbachev will lead to a dictatorship. Is this a Soviet threat?

[Gerasimov] It is Mr. Shevardnadze's description of the situation. I can add that it is in the interest of other countries in the West that the Soviet Union be stable. The Soviet Union is a very large country. If chaos spreads in it, the world would be adversely affected. Therefore, it is better for the West to help by investing in the Soviet Union, because that would be in its security interests.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] The West feels that President Gorbachev has not ridden himself of the "three ugly sisters," in other words, the Red Army, the KGB, and the Communist Party. What is your comment on that?

[Gerasimov] My response is the following: The Communist Party is now one among other parties present in the Soviet Union, because our system has become a multi-party system. For example, tomorrow (Wednesday), elections will be held to elect the president of Russia. There are six candidates competing for a single position. Therefore, this is the response to question of the party.

As for the army, it is an institution that exists in every country of the world. Regarding the intelligence apparatus, I maintain that, in the imperfect world in which we live inside the Soviet republics, it is a necessary apparatus. Every government has its intelligence apparatus. All republics have a different security apparatus. We have adopted a new law regarding the state security committee. The new law determines the authorities and responsibility of the intelligence service under Soviet laws. As I said, every country in the world has its intelligence apparatus.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Will the summit conference between President Gorbachev and President Bush be held before the convocation of the conference of the seven industrialized nations?

[Gerasimov] I do not know, because the American secretary of state and the Soviet foreign minister, during their meetings in Geneva to discuss limiting nuclear and

strategic arms, encountered several problems requiring a solution. Overcoming and solving all of the problems is one of the conditions for a summit conference, because the two presidents wish to sign a treaty. Therefore, its convocation was postponed. However, until when, I truly do not know.

### **Egypt Contacting African Neighbors on Regional Issues**

*91AA0483A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
30 Jun 91 p 2*

[Article: "Egypt Proposes Mini-Summit for African Horn Heads of State"]

[Text] AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that Egyptian President Husni Mubarak in the next few days plans to dispatch an Egyptian envoy to a number of African Horn countries to deliver to their leaders a message dealing with the Egyptian position vis-a-vis current developments in the African Horn region.

Sources in Cairo said that President Mubarak's message will be delivered to the leaders of Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Zaire, and Nigeria in Egypt's capacity as current head of the Organization of African Unity, urging the African heads of state to reach a peaceful settlement to the existing conflicts in accordance with the U.N. and OAU charters.

These sources said that the Egyptian message will include a proposition to organize a mini-summit for African Horn heads of state with Egyptian participation to reach an agreement on a comprehensive plan to settle the existing conflicts and seek economic aid from European countries and some international and Arab monetary institutions for the region's development.

African sources in Cairo have indicated that Egypt has received several reports from Egyptian ambassadors to a number of African capitals about developments in the African Horn and about the viewpoints of the internal parties to the struggle in some of these countries, Somalia and Ethiopia in particular.

Meanwhile, the Arab League will participate in a national conciliation conference for Somali political forces to be held on 10 July in Djibouti to reach an agreement on the settlement of problems and conflicts among Somali factions with a view to preserving Somalia's unity, making internal arrangements for democratic elections, and rejecting the secession of northern Somalia.

### **Venezuela, Egypt Call for Conference on Palestinians**

*91AA0483B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
28 Jun 91 p 2*

[Article: "Egypt and Venezuela Call for International Conference"]

[Text] Egypt and Venezuela have emphasized that the holding of an international conference for peace in the

Middle East, with the participation of all concerned parties, is the proper formula for solving the Palestinian problem which, if left unsolved, will make it impossible to establish a lasting and just peace in the area. This was stated in a joint communique issued yesterday at the end of the visit of the Egyptian deputy prime minister for foreign affairs, Dr. Butrus Ghali, to Venezuela.

The communique emphasized that the two countries hold identical viewpoints on the Group of Fifteen summit conference to be held in Caracas on 25 November to push forward cooperation among the countries of the south and to seize the opportunity to advance international developments affecting southern and Third World countries.

Dr. Butrus Ghali arrived in Caracas two days ago on an official visit, during which he delivered a message from Egyptian President Husni Mubarak to Venezuelan President Carlos Alderez Perez.

### **Egypt Lobbies for African Replacement for Perez De Cuellar**

*91AA0483C London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
28 Jun 91 p 2*

[Article: "Egyptian Contacts To Discuss African Candidate to Replace [Perez] De Cuellar"]

[Text] AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that important contacts are under way between Cairo and a number of African and Arab capitals as part of their efforts to preserve African unity by nominating an African candidate to succeed U.N. Secretary General Perez De Cuellar whose official term expires next September.

Informed sources have told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that Cairo will probably send a number of envoys to some African and Arab capitals to reach such an agreement, indicating that the Egyptian deputy prime minister, Dr. Butrus Ghali, will play an important role in this regard. The Egyptian Foreign Ministry recently held a series of consultations with the OAU to discuss the role the OAU can play in bringing the African peoples together and backing the nomination.

Informed sources stressed to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that Egypt did not intend to nominate any of its officials to this position. These sources pointed out that Egypt will ask for a meeting of Arab and African representatives to the United Nations to discuss this matter, after which important contacts will be made with Islamic countries, nonaligned countries, and the European community to back the African nomination so that Africa may assume its prominent role in this regard.

## REGIONAL AFFAIRS

**'Abd-al-Majid Comments on Peace Conference, Lebanon**

91AA0459C London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
12 Jun 91 p 9

[Interview with 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, the general director of the Arab League by Wahib Ghurab and Mahir 'Abbas; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[AL-MAJALLAH] What plan and conceptions have you formulated regarding current or future Arab League activity?

['Abd-al-Majid] First, the method of constructive dialogue should be pursued, despite differences of opinion. In my conception, due to friendship, a difference does not mar an issue.

[AL-MAJALLAH] Do you believe that a positive climate exists despite the disaster which has occurred and which has affected the Arab psyche after the Gulf crisis?

['Abd-al-Majid] Concern emerged in several meetings which I attended during the 15 May gathering in Cairo, and subsequently, in the Arab Parliamentary Federation, which convened in Tripoli on 25 May, and which issued a final communique that obtained a consensus on the part of the member countries in the Arab Parliamentary Federation, which includes the heads of Arab parliaments and popular and parliamentary assemblies. We are cautiously optimistic about the next measures, whether regarding political, economic, social, or cultural matters. The League is a place where we meet and talk. We might differ in our opinions. However, if we accept the principle of disagreement with, and respect for, other opinions, we are progressing.

[AL-MAJALLAH] What are the priorities which you have established regarding your activity?

['Abd-al-Majid] The Arab League brings together independent, sovereign states. The general secretary, in discharging his responsibilities, serves the League, including its member countries, to achieve the objectives of the charter which we all approved in 1945. Current proposals include an amendment to the charter, and the settlement of disagreements between the Arab countries through the establishment of an Arab court of justice. The disputes are many, and they are not of a one-day nature. I consider solving these disputes part of my responsibilities, in addition to development and economic development in the Arab countries. [passage omitted]

[AL-MAJALLAH] What is your position on the agreement between Syria and Lebanon?

['Abd-al-Majid] We in the League have welcomed this step and we have issued a communique. I believe that

the al-Ta'if Agreement has succeeded in reaching this position of Lebanon's recovery of its legality and sovereignty on its territory and the implementation of Security Council Resolution 425.

[AL-MAJALLAH] What is your appraisal of the Lebanese reconciliation at present and the role played by Israel in impeding stability and preventing the achievement of national unity?

['Abd-al-Majid] We disapprove of this role which Israel is undertaking. We do not believe that Israel should intervene in a matter that concerns Lebanon and Syria. [passage omitted]

[AL-MAJALLAH] Do you believe that there is a possibility of holding an Arab summit in the upcoming months?

['Abd-al-Majid] Everything is possible. It is not among my mandates at present to study this matter. The institution of the summit is the purview of the leaders, who decide the time and the place. I did not approach this topic during my tour [of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries].

[AL-MAJALLAH] What is your opinion on the initiatives pertaining to the Middle East problem, the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the urgent discussions regarding them which Baker and Bessmertnykh held, and which Andreotti is now conducting regarding a peace conference?

['Abd-al-Majid] There are still several disagreements. However, efforts must be made to overcome them, because peace is very desirable, and we wish for it wholeheartedly. It benefits all countries and peoples of the region, and it deserves patience, persistence, and determination.

**Officials Express Need To Amend Arab League Charter**

91AA0478B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
27 Jun 91 p 3

[Article by Suzy al-Junaydi: "Arab League Charter: Between Amendment and Addenda"]

[Excerpts] The modification of the Arab League charter is a subject that has been raised in the arena, particularly in the wake of the Gulf crisis. Some people prefer a new charter while others favor addenda amending several points, the most important of which are: rendering majority resolutions binding; establishing an Arab court of justice; instituting a penalty system; and codifying the Arab summit conferences as a constituent system. [passages omitted]

To begin with, 'Adnan 'Umran, assistant secretary general of the Arab League, said that the charter's amendment calls for an Arab summit and that the draft amendment will not be submitted to the Arab foreign

ministers conference to be held next September because, so far, no Arab country has demanded that this issue be included on the agenda.

He added; "This subject may be discussed in the meeting to be convened next March to draw up the final version in preparation for its submission to the first summit conference to be held after March."

#### Commitment Before Charter

The assistant secretary general of the Arab League emphasized that the problem lies not in the old charter or any new charters, but rather in the Arab will and the Arab countries' willingness to undertake collective and pan-Arab action.

Some countries feel that compliance with adopted positions as part of a collective action is a means of undermining their sovereignty. This is a wrong attitude because international cooperation, by its nature, calls for such an action. With regard to pan-Arab action, it is an aspect that we ought to ponder because, like it or not, the Arab League members are brought together by a pan-Arab bond, without which the Arab League would not exist.

He pointed to the existence of some organizations in the area, be they larger than the Arab League, such as the Islamic Conference Organization and the United Nations, or smaller ones, such as regional blocs. Because of the existence of such a pan-Arab bond, there is an urgent need for that group to rally around one charter because we live in a time that has no place for the weak, a time marked by a tendency toward international blocs by which small countries' interests are crushed in the face of rivalries among the powerful. All this undermines because there is no alternative to the Arab League.

'Adnan 'Umran added that the current charter contains the proper framework for leadership, but this does not mean there is no need to revise or supplement it.

The tragedies and hardships that have afflicted the region lately, however, were not all caused by the charter or a missing article therein. Unfortunately, the great majority of the resolutions that have not been implemented were unanimously ratified. So why use some of these resolutions as a scapegoat?

By and large, the charter will be amended, and there is no difference between a new or an appended one or between total or partial amendment.

The current tendency is to focus on the preservation of existing frameworks to the extent possible and to safeguard the basic structure of the charter and the Arab League.

The assistant secretary general went on to say that among the issues included on the list of modifications in the charter amendment bill is to change unanimity to majority, notwithstanding the fact that this is a ticklish matter because majority resolutions cannot be forced on

the minority. Besides, there is ready a plan to establish an Arab court of justice, but the question is will all countries abide by and respect this court's decisions, adding that this question is in need of some answers, but that an Arab court of justice will surely play a strong moral role.

He pointed out that had the Kuwait-Iraq dispute been referred to an Arab court of Justice, it would have constituted a moral barrier for a certain period against the events that occurred. [passage omitted]

'Abd-al-Muhsin al-Jay'an, the Kuwaiti representative to the Arab League, wondered "how confidence in the current Arab League charter could be restored now that Arab countries have violated it? Kuwait has contributed to the tendency to amend the charter or append it, be it in the expert committee or in government committees. The problem is not in ideas, but rather in implementation, and, therefore, we must all abide by the Arab League charter and prevent any violations or encroachments thereof so that it may serve as the legal framework that regulates joint Arab action."

#### Commentary on Banks' Rebound From Gulf War

91AA0448A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
15 Jun 91 p 9

[Article: "Emigrating Money Has Begun To Return"]

[Text] Damascus—AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—Safa Janudi, an Arab banker and general director of the Arab Banking Company, has said in Paris that Arab banks were extremely damaged by the Gulf war as a result of several factors, including the emigration of Arab money to the outside world, reduction of the banking facilities granted by foreign banks to most Arab banks, the economic recession developing in a number of Arab countries, and the drop in the value of some Arab currencies.

Janudi noted that numerous Arab banks were forced not to disburse any profits for 1990 so as to accumulate enough supply to counter perished or doubtful debts, especially debts owed by some Arab governments.

These banks have also been forced to increase their capital at the request of the monetary authorities of the countries in which they operate.

But Janudi has also pointed out that the banking situation has begun to improve now and that the emigrant money has begun to return at a limited scale. Damaged currencies have also begun to experience some improvement.

Janudi added: "There are new signs of economic open-door policies in some Arab countries where the public sector had previously monopolized the major part of the responsible authorities' attention. This is evident in Syria, Egypt, and Libya. These policies deal with monetary and investment issues especially.

Egypt has permitted money changers to resume their activity and has followed a realistic policy in pricing local currency. In Syria, a decision was issued recently permitting expatriates to sell foreign currencies, whether for personal spending or for investment, at the market price in effect in neighboring countries. The new investment law has also been issued to keep pace with economic developments."

### **Development of Maghreb Agricultural Policy Reported**

91AA0522A Tunis LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE  
in French 21 May 91 p 3

[Article by H.L.: "A Single North African Agricultural Zone To End the Deficit"; first three paragraphs are LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE introduction]

[Text] The dynamic initiative to bring about North African economic integration is based on the activities of four specialized ministerial commissions. Their role is to conceive and propose measures to establish cooperation among North African states and to set up the organizational structures inherent in such a regional regrouping in the following areas: economy and finances, infrastructure, human resources, and food security.

Since its founding, the food security commission has met three times at the ministerial level, and several times in technical committee. Its goal, which is to promote food security for all North Africans, is crucial to our future.

Mr. Hamadi Khouini, the secretary of state to the foreign affairs minister in charge of North African affairs, was kind enough to respond to our questions on the subject.

[LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE] Could you tell us your feelings about the current agricultural situation in North Africa?

[Khouini] The agricultural realities in North Africa are not satisfactory at the moment. The gap between North African production potentials and our consumption needs has reached a critical threshold. It is fair to say that the food deficit could pose a threat to security and stability in the sense that it creates a dependency on countries that supply food products.

There are many reasons for the deficit:

- the exiguity of land for agricultural use (25 million hectares for a population of 68 million);
- the fact that agriculture is still tied to rainfall (91 percent of land dependent on rainfall versus 9 percent of irrigated land);
- low agricultural production.

The health policy followed in North African countries brought about demographic growth. Their economic policy boosted purchasing power, which raised the rate of consumption from 2 to 4 percent annually, while the

growth rate varies from 1.7 to 4 percent. This resulted in increased imports to make up the deficit.

We have seen an expansion in the food deficit over the last few decades. Forty to 80 percent of the region's food needs are now met, whereas the rate was over 100 percent at the beginning of the sixties.

[LA PRESSE DE TUNISIE] What are the recommendations for correcting this food dependence? What does the North African commission in charge of food security propose?

[Khouini] An inventory of the situation was made by North African experts and officials, covering the different aspects of the food problem.

The conclusions show deficits that vary by country. This can only become tolerable if the deficits are sharply reduced.

In this context, and in order to reach the goal of food security, [a measure] to institute a single North African agricultural zone was adopted during the first meeting of the specialized North African commission (Rabat, March 1990). This option has three components:

- the creation of a North African common market for agricultural products;
- the adoption of a strategy to develop sectors and promote basic foodstuffs;
- stepped-up cooperation in all areas related to food security.

To that end, an orientation paper was drafted by the commission's second session (May 1990) dealing with the implementation of the common agricultural market. Four agreements were also adopted, concerning:

- the exchange of agricultural products;
- the creation of two permanent organizations in charge of agronomic research and training and cereals and fruits;
- monitoring of plant health.

Along the same lines, the third session of the same commission (October 1990) capped its work by adopting a list of agricultural products that would be exempt from customs duties and allowed to circulate freely.

These North-African-grown products include fruits, fresh and dry vegetables and legumes, seeds, seedlings, red meat, fish, and canned tomatoes and fish.

An agreement on veterinary inspection and cooperation in animal health matters was likewise adopted.

As you can see, the work of this North African commission is fairly comprehensive and fairly advanced despite the technical difficulties involved in harmonizing the

respective interests of the five partners. Those interests are not always complementary and some of them are in competition.

Nevertheless, we are engaged in the step-by-step process of implementing a North African agricultural policy, after laying down the legal and institutional framework.

#### **ADF Head Discusses Egyptian Loan, Other Business**

91AA0447A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
15 Jun 91 p 9

[Article by 'Ali Ibrahim: "A Development Fund for All Arab Nations; We Shall Return to Kuwait Soon; Gulf Funds Will Cooperate With Egypt Before Paris Meeting"]

[Text] 'Abd al-Latif al-Hamad, chief of the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development [ADF], stated that the fund has been able to implement all its loan programs scheduled for 1990, despite the difficult circumstances it has experienced as a result of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, where it has its headquarters. He expressed his hope that the ADF could implement its 1991 program, and pointed out that the fund aspires to return soon to conduct its business in its permanent headquarters in Kuwait, after its offices were transferred temporarily to Bahrain, because of the Iraqi invasion.

Al-Hamad made these remarks, immediately after signing three loan agreements, and a technical grant, for Egypt, totaling 61.3 million Kuwaiti dinars, with Maurice Makramallah, the Egyptian minister of state for international cooperation. Also present in the Egyptian Embassy in London on 13 June was Dr. Kamal al-Janzuri, the deputy prime minister and minister of planning, who is heading a joint delegation, representing Egypt, the ADF, and the al-Dawaliyin Bank, to explain the program of Egyptian economic reform, preparatory to the meeting of the International Investment Group [IIG] in Paris from 8 to 10 July 1991, to discuss Egypt's financial needs.

Al-Hamad pointed out that the fund would retain all its employees, and had fulfilled all its obligations to them during the crisis. They will be transferred to Kuwait, as soon as the ADF returns to conduct its activities there. He also pointed out that the fund was a joint Arab institution, and conducts its lending activities for the benefit of all Arab nations, whenever the required legal conditions are met.

In this regard, al-Hamad said that, a few days ago, a loan for Jordan had been signed, amounting to 7 million dinars. The ADF also wants to support development in Lebanon in the next period of reconstruction, as well as to finance industrial and agricultural sectors in Syria.

With regard to financing development in Iraq, he said that Iraq was a member nation, and benefits from the

fund. However, that was in the past, because Iraq has not submitted any loan requests.

Al-Hamad referred to signing Egypt's loans as support for the economic reform package, prior to the meetings of the IIG, which will be held next month in Paris.

The agreements that have been signed included 36.25 million dinars for the al-Karimat electricity generating station project, located 95 kilometers south of Cairo, at a total cost of 295 million dinars, to which the International Bank, Saudi Arabia, and the African Development Bank have also contributed. The agreements also included a 10.5 million dinars loan to expand factories producing tires and flexible pipe. These loans will be repaid in 19 years, after a grace period of 6 years, at 3 percent interest.

Yesterday, London was the venue for a meeting between the Egyptian delegation, headed by al-Janzuri, and representatives from the governments of the Arab Gulf states, and Arab Gulf regional and national finance and development funds. The meeting was within the framework of several pertaining to Egypt that have been held by the IIG, which will meet during the period from 8 to 10 July, to discuss the financial requirements of the economic reform program currently being implemented by the Egyptian government.

During this meeting, which was held yesterday at the Grosvenor Hotel in London, the Egyptian delegation briefed representatives from the Arab Fund for Arab Economic and Social Development, the Kuwaiti Development Fund, the Saudi Development Fund, the Abu Dhabi Development Fund, the Arab Monetary Fund, the Islamic Development Bank, and the Gulf Cooperation Council. The meeting was within the framework of an extensive tour that the delegation is making, in order to prepare for the meeting of the IIG. The tour included Paris, Rome, Bonn, Tokyo, and Brussels, prior to the delegation's visit to Britain; from London, the delegation will go to Canada and the United States in the next few days.

Regarding the delegation's discussions in Tokyo, which the delegation recently visited, Dr. Kamal al-Janzuri said that the Japanese government had promised to reduce the interest on Egyptian debts, by the equivalent of reducing the Egyptian debt by 50 percent, within the framework of the agreement concluded in the Paris Club, which includes the creditor nations. He pointed out that, during the delegation's meeting with Jacques Delors, president of the European Common Market, he stressed that the group supported the Egyptian economic reform plans, within the context of its concern for Egypt's stability as a basic element of Middle East stability.

For his part, Maurice Makramallah said that canceling the debts does not mean an end to Egypt's economic problems. This action will lessen the burden on the Egyptian economy, but the solution must come from within Egypt, through improving productivity and increasing investment.

Concerning the social fund, which is aimed at reducing the side effects during the economic reform period, Makramallah said that in addition to the loan that the ADF has granted, he has resources that America made available of \$55 million, as well as \$50 million from the Kuwaiti Fund.

Furthermore, there is a loan that is still under consideration by the ECM, and negotiations are being conducted with the International Monetary Organization, a subsidiary of the International Bank, to offer a \$140 million loan to the fund.

### Relations With Egypt Discussed by Libyan Minister

91AA0459A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 12 Jun 91  
p 14

[Interview with 'Ali Abu-Jaziyah, secretary of the General People's Committee for Information and Culture; place and date not given]

[Text] Engineer 'Ali Abu-Jaziyah, the secretary of the general people's committee for information and culture, participated in the latest conference of Arab culture ministers held recently in Cairo. AKHIR SA'AH conducted a brief interview with him, the text of which follows:

[AKHIR SA'AH] Do you believe that Egyptian-Libyan relations [have entered] a new stage recently?

[Abu-Jaziyah] On the contrary, [as others see it,] Egyptian-Libyan relations have entered an amazing, astonishing stage in view of the steps that have been taken. Although we see the matter differently, inasmuch as we are fully aware that we are an extension of Egypt, and that Egypt is an extension of us. However, many parties are amazed by the speed at which relations have developed and measures have been taken, especially as a result of the leadership's directives regarding the need to promote relations between the two countries as quickly as possible. There is a mutual understanding between Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi, the commander of the Libyan revolution, and President Husni Mubarak. That understanding supports relations considerably. Frankly, there are no obstacles. If they exist, the commander of the revolution would intervene to eliminate them. Relations between Egypt and Libya are, thank God, exemplary.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Can you comment on the information agreement that was signed between the two countries?

[Abu-Jaziyah] I signed, with my counterpart, Safwat al-Sharif, the [Egyptian] information minister, a protocol information agreement in a meeting of the cabinet in Egypt. The General People's Committee in Libya [will meet] on 7 July 1991 to approve the ten agreements. With respect to us, the agreements will be formulated and approved in the General People's Congress, which will convene next week in Libya. In the next meeting that

will be held at the level of the prime minister and the chairman of the General People's Committee, an agreement will be reached on an implementation program for these agreements.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Could you speak about the agenda of the General People's Congress?

[Abu-Jaziyah] The General People's Congress will formulate the resolutions of the people's congresses held during the last two months. The resolutions of the people's congresses include authorization of the ten agreements between Egypt and Libya and numerous other issues.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Libya's chairmanship of the Arab Maghreb Union [UMA] ends at the UMA summit meeting. What are the achievements that have been accomplished during Libya's chairmanship?

[Abu-Jaziyah] Perhaps what characterizes the Jamahiriyah—and the commander of the revolution personally holds the Union chairmanship—is that it has played an important role in restoring Arab solidarity. It participated directly in convening a meeting of the Arab League council and in all of the initiatives undertaken during its chairmanship, and it convinced the Maghrebi countries to attend. Other achievements include a number of projects and agreements which were effected during this session.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Could you speak about the UMA summit agenda?

[Abu-Jaziyah] It has been agreed to study the situation at the Arab level in general following the Gulf crisis.

[AKHIR SA'AH] What about North Africa in particular?

[Abu-Jaziyah] The arrangements that have been made in this regard are progressing normally. Nothing is new, and there is no need for exceptional measures.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Recently, statements by the secretary of the people's committee for external liaison—the foreign minister—have appeared, which give the impression that Libya is moving toward normalizing relations with the countries of Europe and America. What is the truth of that?

[Abu-Jaziyah] This is not new. Throughout our history, we have never opposed normal relations with anyone. We have always called for relations based on friendship, respect, and mutual interests. The matter pertains to the other parties. Our position in this connection has not changed.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Is there a specific role played by Egypt in this regard to mellow the climate between Libya and the European countries and America?

[Abu-Jaziyah] There is always coordination between Egypt and Libya regarding all issues. Meetings are held

continually. We consider Egypt's interest to be Libya's interest. Consultation is always taking place.

### **Egyptian Ambassador Comments on Algerian Situation**

91AA0464A Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 12 Jun 91 p 2

[Interview with Husayn Ahmad Amin by 'Umar Ahmad 'Umar in Cairo; date not given]

[Text] The situation in Algeria between the Islamic Salvation Front [FIS], which is classified as being in the vanguard of the religious extremists, and the Algerian authorities is exploding. What are the real reasons for this explosion, and what does the future hold in store?

Ambassador Husayn Ahmad Amin, who returned several months ago after representing Egypt as the charge d'affaires and ambassador in Algeria from 1987 until September 1990, provides answers to these questions.

['Umar] Excluding the direct reasons for the recent events, the most salient being the amendment of the Elections Law, which is opposed by the FIS, what are the real reasons that led to such extreme circumstances in Algeria?

[Amin] The Algerian people is certainly suffering severely from the effects of rapid social change, which include stress and the disintegration of values and traditions. The Algerian people feels acute frustration and discontent vis-a-vis the sacrifices which it has been asked to make in the interest of urbanization and development. Many years of a policy of rapid, heavy industrialization in Boumedienne's tenure have fostered the decline of inherited traditions and values, the breakup of families and tribes, the obliteration of solidarity, the neglect of agriculture, and an increase in migration from rural areas to the cities, which are overcrowded with the unemployed, threatening Algerians with uprootedness and Algerian society itself with dissolution, until only religion appeared capable of preventing that.

In particular, given that the ruling party's ideology failed to arouse enthusiasm for it and confidence in it, it was only natural that the disaffected would listen to any political opportunist or mercenary who persuades them that the removal of the ruling regime and the establishment of a state that applies "God's shari'ah" will solve all of their problems and give them an affluent life, and who reinforces his claim against the regime by pointing to manifestations of corruption in the state and the ruling party, the spread of bribery among officials, the excessive wealth of senior members of the army, government, and the party, the spread of indecency at all levels, the extreme oppression practiced by the secret service and the police, and the growth of the army's influence and control over all aspects of Algerian life.

['Umar] Who are the supporters of the FIS in Algeria?

[Amin] I believe that most of the followers of the FIS belong to a large class of semi-educated youths of limited professional abilities, who know only Arabic, are constrained by traditional and religious ties, and find it extremely difficult to find work in the cities, which are now overcrowded with them.

Of all Algerian groups, these groups of youths are the most susceptible psychologically to extremist, Islamic propaganda. Neither the capitalist model nor socialist theories have glamour or attraction for these groups. It has been easy for them to adopt the idea that only the Islamic revolution can lighten the burden of social isolation under which they live.

It should be noted that the deterioration of the level of education, despite the expansion of education, has resulted in the graduation of throngs of youths who know only the basics and superficialities, superficialities that have succeeded in increasing their ambitions and their material needs, while failing to make them capable of achieving these ambitions and fulfilling these needs.

These throngs of semi-literate youths are like a genie released from a bottle, who cannot be made to return to it. The present government lacks the slightest idea about how to deal with them. Only the leaders of the extremist, Islamic groups have such an idea and other ideas about how to exploit this genie to serve their interests.

['Umar] Are there actually any real, strong possibilities of the FIS obtaining power?

[Amin] The mere obtainment by the FIS of a majority of the votes in the June 1990 elections indicates the possibility of it obtaining power in general, free elections. However, this statement has two limiting conditions:

First, many of the voices that have supported and are supporting the FIS belong to people who detest the ruling party and want to change the government. Their support is more an expression of their enmity toward the government than their support for the FIS.

Second, the popularity of the FIS during the year following the June 1990 elections began to decline due to the division that occurred in its ranks, and the fact that many were offended by the violence to which FIS supporters resorted to oppose theatrical and musical groups, women not wearing the veil, and restaurants and public establishments that serve alcoholic beverages.

In addition, the FIS has been unable to implement the many promises that it made to the people during the municipal and governorate elections to provide housing, improve living conditions, pay the full salaries of women desiring to stay at home and resign from their jobs, etc.

Nonetheless, of the Algerian parties, the FIS is undoubtedly the strongest and the one that most enjoys the masses' favor at present.

['Umar] To justify its recent measures, the Algerian government spoke of the existence of a conspiracy or

foreign elements behind what Algeria has experienced in the past two months. Do you believe that this is accurate?

[Amin] I have irrefutable knowledge of the existence of close connections between the FIS and fundamentalists in Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Jordan, Sudan, and Syria, and attempts to coordinate between them.

I also know that Saudi Arabia is the main source of financing of the FIS, and that King Fahd, in his meeting with President Chadli during Chadli's recent stopover in Saudi Arabia on his return from Addis Ababa in 1990, attempted to convince Chadli to enable Abassi Madani, the leader of the FIS, and the so-called moderates among his followers, to reach power in Algeria, without the extremists, who are followers of Belhadj, the number-two man in the FIS, who is known for his loyalty to Iran.

[Umar] Do you believe that there is coordination between the Algerian and Tunisian governments on measures taken by the two governments vis-a-vis the fundamentalists?

[Amin] I believe that the measures taken recently by the Tunisian Government against the fundamentalists were primarily a precaution against the results of the general elections in Algeria, which are scheduled to take place on 27 June 1991, and a precaution against the consequences of the FIS reaching power, which would certainly intensify pressure on President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali and excite disturbances against him.

[Umar] Do you believe that the government's violence was justified in the face of the fundamentalists' violence?

[Amin] I do not believe in the utility or legality of the government's use of force to counter any popular current. Rather, I believe in the utility of fundamental reforms and efforts to eliminate political, economic, and social injustices, which are certainly behind the extremist movements. The Chadli Government's resort to violence is actually the result of a lack of seriousness about carrying out reforms on the part of Chadli's successive governments.

[Umar] However, do you not believe that the FIS has violated the rules of democratic action, and that the government had no recourse but to confront it with the same weapons that it uses?

[Amin] The FIS certainly overstepped the bounds of democratic practice when it fabricated municipal election results last year as stated previously, and through its imposition of a climate of terror throughout the country, and its repeated, barbaric, attacks against those who differ from it in terms of opinion, behavior, or dress.

However, neither I nor anyone view as a violation of democratic practice the front's call to strike, its announcement of its demand to abrogate the amendment of the election laws, or its threat not to participate

in general elections if the amendment is not abrogated, as long as the front's demonstrations and protests are peaceful and nonviolent.

From my position here in Cairo, I cannot judge the government's claim that the demonstrators, rather than the police or the army, initiated the use of violence.

[Umar] Based on your experience in Algerian affairs, how do you view the future? Do you see greater deterioration, or will that be left behind?

[Amin] It is difficult to predict the course of events in the short term. For example, despite Abassi Madani's call to his followers on 4 June 1991 to cease demonstrations, protests, and strikes, which made many believe that the clashes had ended, violent incidents recurred on 6 June 1991. On the following day, Abassi Madani again called on his supporters to continue demonstrations and marches, only to again ask them to stop demonstrating and protesting after the FIS announced that it had reached an agreement with the government. Also, the reignition of civil strife is very conceivable following any Friday prayer in the mosques, most of which are controlled by Abassi Madani's followers, and it is not easy to predict the consequences of such strife.

As it happened, matters quieted down. I expect an increase in cooperation between the government and a number of opposition parties known for their opposition to the FIS, with the aim of breaking the fundamentalists' power effectively and permanently.

On the other hand, the recent bloody events, and what we expect in the way of measures and developments aimed at suppressing the fundamentalists, will necessarily lead to the growth of sympathy for Madani's front among persons who are disaffected by the general conditions in Algeria, causing the FIS to make reckless attempts to remove President Chadli's government by force.

In such a situation charged with tension, we cannot regard as auspicious the future of democracy, even if some of the opposition parties play a more active role under the current regime.

Regarding the ruling party, its future depends on its ability, which is doubtful, to: present an economic, political, and social program that can excite the masses' imagination; purge itself of the old guard—the supporters of Cherif Msaadiya and Taleb Ibrahimi, who are linked with corruption in the minds of Algerians; and purify itself with [tathirihi ma'a] members who sympathize openly with the FIS.

In any case, what Algeria has been witnessing recently could result in a future of the utmost importance to the Arab and Islamic world in general, and North Africa [in particular]. It will have a major effect on the course of events, similar to the effect of the Khomeini revolution in Iran, or even a stronger effect given that Algeria,

unlike Iran, is an Arab state, and that the FIS is of the Sunni sect, in distinction to Shi'ite Iran.

There is no doubt that the obtainment of power by the fundamentalists in Algeria—through a civil war, a sudden, peaceful coup, or a victory in general elections—would generate extremely major developments, whether in Tunisia, Morocco, Jordan, or Egypt, which could change the entire course of the region's history and the attitude of the entire world toward the region.

[Umar] Is there actually a danger of civil war breaking out in Algeria?

[Amin] Yes, this kind of danger exists, given the fundamentalists' determination to obtain power at any cost and the fact that various, strong elements in Algerian society are intensely afraid of the establishment of a fundamentalist government in Algeria. There is the army, which can generally be considered the fundamentalists' most hostile enemy. There are the Berbers, who feel that their identity is endangered by the fundamentalists, and there are the intellectuals, the technocrats, the proponents of Westernization, and the supporters of democracy, who believe that a regime headed by a man such as Abassi Madani could only be a fascist regime that rejects multiplicity, any party other than the party of God, any laws other than the laws of the Islamic shari'ah, and the expression of opinions that differ from the opinions of the leadership, if only slightly. All of these opponents of the FIS are perfectly willing to enter into an armed confrontation with the FIS to keep it out of power.

#### **Egyptian Labor Minister Praises Kuwaiti Commitment**

91AA0459B Cairo AKHIR AL-SA'AH in Arabic  
12 Jun 91 p 14

[Text] Labor Minister 'Asim 'Abd-al-Haqq praised the Kuwaiti Government's commitment to implement all of its pledges regarding the savings and accounts to be settled of about 180,000 Egyptians who were working in Kuwait before the Iraqi invasion. He stated: At the very outset, the Kuwaiti Government promised to return all savings of Egyptians in the banks and all savings deposits in Kuwait. After the end of the war to liberate Kuwait, the Kuwaiti Government adhered to its commitments. An agreement was reached between Egyptian and Kuwaiti banks on the transfer of 4,000 Kuwaiti dinars per month from the balance of each Egyptian who had been working in Kuwait. He declared his confidence in the return of all sums owed to Egyptians, which will be effected in installments rather than in a single payment, because of the economic circumstances in Kuwait and the channeling of all investments into reconstruction.

'Asim 'Abd-al-Haqq stated that about 4,000 Egyptian teachers and 300 Egyptian doctors will be leaving Cairo in August 1991 in response to a Kuwaiti request. There are also discussions with Kuwaiti officials about creating a formula designed to reassure about 158,000 Egyptians,

who returned from Kuwait after the invasion, regarding their effects and homes in Kuwait.

#### **Syria, Egypt Sign Trade Protocol**

91AA0448C London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
13 Jun 91 p 10

[Article: "Boosting Commodity Exchange Between Egypt and Syria"]

[Text] Damascus—AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT—The Damascus and Aleppo Chambers of Industry and the Syrian Motion Picture Association have concluded a cooperation protocol with the Federation of Egyptian Industries. A delegation of this federation, headed by federation chairman 'Adil Jazzarin, visited Syria recently.

The protocol seeks to promote exports and the exchange of goods between the two countries. It calls for bolstering technical cooperation in the area of training, for the exchange of expertise in the area of factory maintenance, the exchange of information on markets, opening joint foreign markets, and conducting studies on investments projects owned jointly by businessmen from both countries.

The protocol also calls for setting up specialized fairs in the two countries, joint participation in international fairs, and cooperation in forming the nucleus of a scientific research unit that seeks to develop the two countries' industrial production.

Antoine Jubran, Syria's minister of industry, has said that this effort comes within the context of the policy seeking to encourage the Syrian private sector in the wake of the promulgation of the new investment law.

'Adil Jazzarin, chairman of the Federation of Egyptian Industries, has said that the new Syrian investment law opens the door for cooperation between industries owned by the two countries' private sector.

Engineer Yahya al-Hindi, chairman of the Syrian Chamber of Industry, believes that the protocol bolsters the agreement concluded between the two countries, noting that it will contribute to boosting commercial and economic cooperation within the framework of a market which encompasses 70 million people.

He expects that in the initial phase, the protocol will boost trade exchange between the two countries to the equivalent of \$150 million annually in the first phase as a result of each country opening its market to the other country's products.

#### **Libya, Egypt Form Joint Industrial Company**

91AA0448B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
13 Jun 91 p 12

[Article: "Joint Egyptian-Libyan Holding Company"]

[Text] Cairo—AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT Bureau—It has been decided to form a joint industrial holding company

between Egypt and the Libyan Jamahiriyah to be entrusted with conducting economic and technical studies and to implement and manage industrial projects owned jointly by the two countries.

Dr. 'Abd-al-Fattah Munji, deputy chairman of the Industrialization Authority, has stated that the executive measures to set up the company will be discussed at a meeting of the Egyptian and Libyan ministers of industry this coming July in Cairo. The most important projects to be studied and implemented by the holding company include a project to produce graphite poles which will serve the two countries' iron and steel industries, a project for the production of passenger cars and light trucks, a project for the production of sodium carbonates, a project to produce porcelain bathroom fixtures, and a project to produce synthetic fibers and crystallized glass.

The authority's deputy chairman, who returned to Cairo from Tripoli yesterday after a weeklong visit to the Jamahiriyah at the head of an Egyptian industrial delegation, said that aspects of the joint industrial cooperation, the method to exploit the industrial capacities in a manner that accomplishes integration, providing production requirements for the industries existing in both countries, and coordination between the two countries in the areas of production, training skilled labor, and creating well-trained cadres were issues discussed during the visit. This is in addition to studying the most important industrial goods in which prompt integration is needed.

#### **Kuwait, Egypt Establish Joint Aviation Company**

91P40353A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic  
12 Jul 91 p 4

[Text] Yesterday Fu'ad Sultan, minister of tourism and civil aviation, approved the establishment of the new Egyptian-Kuwaiti Aviation Company. It will be founded in Egypt with \$20 million in capital. It will operate in the area of charter flights and air freight, and will run a flying ambulance service. It is estimated that Kuwait will own 49 percent of the shares while the Egyptair Corporation will own 51 percent.

Engineer Muhammad Fahim Rayyan, chairman of the board of the Egyptair Corporation, announced that the signing of the contract for the company's establishment will take place on 22 July 1991 in Cairo. Mr. Ahmad al-Mashari, chairman of the board of Kuwaiti Airlines, will represent Kuwait. He will arrive in Cairo next week.

Engineer Rayyan added that the Egyptian-Kuwaiti company will be an investment holding company subject to the free zones law. It will enjoy freedom in all its enterprises, with the possibility of increasing its capital in the future.

The board of the Egyptair Corporation previously agreed to the company's submitted it to the minister of aviation.

#### **Saudi Arabia, Kuwait Lead Investment in Egypt**

91P40366A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
19 Jun 91 p 9

[Text] With the increase in European and Arab investment in Egypt, recent statistics from the General Investments Authority have shown that Arab investment has risen considerably in recent years. The Gulf [states] have registered a significant increase in economic projects serving the Egyptian economy, and Saudi investments hold first place among these Arab investments. Investment expenditures for Saudi projects total 3.5 billion Egyptian pounds. The Authority's statistics indicate that Kuwaiti investment has fallen to second place due to the Iraqi invasion. The interruption of day-to-day life in Kuwait for eight months has affected the number of Kuwaiti investment projects in Egypt.

#### **New Roads, Phones, Railways To Connect Egypt, Libya**

91AA0478A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
8 Jun 91 p 8

[Article: "Roads and Railroads Linking Egypt, Libya, and Algeria"]

[Text] Engineer Mubarak 'Abdallah Shamikh, chairman of the Libyan Popular Committee for Communications and Maritime Transportation, confirmed that Egypt and Libya have agreed to raise the number of phone circuits to 180, which are already in service, and to add another 140 circuits in the near future.

He said that an agreement has been reached to build a 665-km road between Egypt, Libya, and Algeria, another road from al-Jafun Oasis in Libya and Siwah [Oasis in Egypt] to al-Fayyum Governorate in Egypt, and another road between the regions of al-Kuthwah and Aswan.

The Libyan minister added that his country will seek the help of 1,000 Egyptian communications and transportation advisors.

A decision has also been made to commission the Railroad Authority in Egypt to study the construction of a railway between al-Sallum and Tubruq. This railroad is expected to go all the way to Tunis to link the Arab countries in North Africa with roads and railroads.

#### **Al-Qadhdhafi Plans Extensive Tour of Arab Countries**

91P40368A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
2-6 Jul 91 p 8

[Text] Libyan leader Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi is preparing to undertake an extensive tour of a number of Arab countries in the next few days. The purpose of this visit is to clear the air among Arab countries, to turn a

new page in inter-Arab relations following the end of the Gulf war and to work at restoring Arab solidarity to its former status prior to 2 August, the start of the Gulf war.

AL-MAJALLAH has learned that Libyan leader al-Qadhafi will visit a number of Arab capitals to meet with the leaders of such countries as Egypt, Syria, Jordan and some of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries, to hold discussions concerning the future of Arab action and to determine these leaders' points of view regarding the convening of an emergency Arab summit, which al-Qadhafi is calling the "reconciliation summit," to be held this coming August [1991] and attended by the Arab leaders. The purpose of this summit is to resolve Arab conflicts and to accelerate the resolution of the Palestinian issue and other issues. Information coming from Libya indicates that al-Qadhafi's tour will be the longest in the region [to date] and will encompass a number of Arab countries. Al-Qadhafi will be accompanied on this visit by Foreign Liaison Secretary Ibrahim al-Bishari and a number of political leaders.

#### **Ramadan Receives Tunisian Opposition Party Leader**

JN0607120791 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1050 GMT  
6 Jul 91

[Text] Baghdad, 6 Jul (INA)—Taha Yasin Ramadan, Revolution Command Council member and vice president, has hailed the fraternal Tunisian people's genuine support for the Iraqi people's confrontation of the American-Zionist-NATO aggression.

Receiving Mr. Ahmed Nejib Chebbi, secretary general of the Tunisian Progressive Socialist Rally and the delegation accompanying him today, Taha Yasin Ramadan stressed that the sons of the Arab nation cannot forget the sacrifices of the Iraqis, and that the future stage will witness the progress of the Arab forces contrary to the enemies' expectations.

He said that the Arab nation does not rise up by its traitors, but by its good men who clearly express its living conscience and its legitimate objectives of liberation and independence. He affirmed that the current conspiracy against the Arab nation is aimed at distorting the nation's bright struggle, and preventing the emergence of historic leaderships and sincere political movements that express the masses' aspirations throughout the Arab land.

Mr. Ahmed Nejib Chebbi, secretary general of the Tunisian Progressive Socialist Rally, stressed that the aggression against Iraq was aimed at undermining Iraq's pan-Arab symbol which constitutes the nucleus of Arab unity. He noted that the war against Iraq began before the second of August. He said that the Arab people are proud of the steadfastness of Iraq and its wise leadership in the face of aggression, adding that this steadfastness is considered a victory for the Arab people in all their countries despite the size of the aggression and its psychological and material capabilities.

#### **Jordan Eases Entry Restrictions for Libyans**

LD0707141891 Tripoli Great Jamahiriyyah Radio  
Network in Arabic 1230 GMT 7 Jul 91

[Excerpts] Jordan has highly praised the firm principled stances of the international al-Fatih revolution and its leader, Colonel Mu'mmar al-Qadhafi in improving relations among sisterly Arab countries. [passage omitted]

In a statement to JANA, the Jordanian ambassador to the Great Jamahiriyyah said: I have the pleasure to announce Jordan's decision on facilitating the entry of brother Libyan Arabs to their brother country, Jordan, and the annulment of the previous decision that stipulated that prior approval had to be obtained to grant them an entry visa to Jordan. In his statement, brother Hisham al-Mihayshi, Jordan's ambassador to the Great Jamahiriyyah, said: "As of today, brother Libyan Arabs will be able to obtain an entry visa from Jordanian border posts, ports, airports, or Jordanian embassies abroad, directly and without delay."

#### **Iraqi Businessmen Flood Jordan To Arrange Imports**

JN0207115791 Amman JORDAN TIMES in English  
2 Jul 91 p 7

[Article by P.V. Vivekanand]

[Text] Iraqi businessmen are flooding Jordan in search of arrangements to import food and consumer products to Iraq, while in Baghdad itself middlemen and brokers are deluged with inquiries.

The focus for immediate imports is mostly staples and basic consumer products such as batteries, soap, cigarettes, detergents, toothpaste, etc. But many businessmen are also involved in setting up a system under which they could rush [to import] capital goods and spare parts as well as raw materials for Iraqi industries when there is a relaxation of the international sanctions imposed on their country for its August 2 invasion of Kuwait.

Businessmen point out that reaching definite deals and actual deliveries could take anywhere from four to six months from the time of initial contacts. "If we could start the process now, hopefully we could get deliveries in a relatively short period after the sanctions are lifted," said an Iraqi businessman.

Jordanian security sources say that border controls have been tightened and many attempts to smuggle goods across to Iraq have been foiled. The Kingdom has said that it is abiding by the sanctions against Iraq, and has rejected charges that it has reached new trade agreements with its eastern neighbour.

"Jordan is about the only country which is keeping a tight watch on the flow of goods into Iraq not covered by the relaxation of the sanctions," said an Iraqi importer of

tea. "It is a totally different story with Turkey, Iran, and Syria. It is a free-for-all there, and many Turks, Iranians, and Syrians could emerge as millionaires by the time the sanctions are fully lifted; that is if that ever happens."

The Iraqi government, straining under the sweeping sanctions, has done away with most regulations related to imports, clearing the way for rich Iraqi businessmen with funds outside the country to find sources and meet the country's basic needs.

At the same time, many of the importers are also wary of any sudden government move to reimpose control over any sector, particularly food, and set price ceilings, possibly at lower-than-actual-cost levels.

"There is a tremendous market out there," said an Asian businessman, "but the problem is uncertainty within the country and the international sanctions."

In many cases, Iraqi importers are looking for medium-term deliveries—depending on sanctions restrictions—of much-needed raw material for industrial units. Plastics, cloth, bulk chemicals for medicine, components for electrical appliances, cables, fuses, raw rubber, and plumbing fixtures are some of the most-wanted items.

The main preoccupation of the government of President Saddam Husayn, the ruling Ba'thist Party, and the National Assembly (parliament) is with fighting runaway inflation and ensuring the availability of basic products.

The list of products subsidised but rationed by the government now include flour, rice, sugar, tea, detergent, cooking oil, soap, salt, children's milk, tomato paste, canned cheese, canned meat, eggs, dried milk, dairy products, pasta, and school items. Most of these products are now imported from Jordan, but the relaxed import procedures have also brought in a wide array of items, including Pepsi Cola from Lebanon and Coca Cola from the United Arab Emirates.

The ruling Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), chaired by President Saddam, has written off all water, electricity, and telephone service bills for the period of January 17 to June 1 in a bid to allow the people to meet their needs of food and basic products.

Wheat and rice import deals already agreed upon with Canada, Australia, and Thailand can materialise only when the freeze on Iraqi assets and bank accounts frozen abroad under the sanctions are lifted.

India, which is owed around \$500 million by Iraq in pre-war credits, has offered to supply food and medicines under normal credit terms, in what an Indian official described as "help in this dire situation facing the Iraqi people."

Efforts are underway to repair cement factories and resume the production of cement, vital for reconstructing war-damaged buildings. Simultaneously, the industry and militarisation ministry has also launched

work at tire plants and battery manufacturing industries. There is no definite information on the progress of these efforts.

Most of these facilities were gutted in allied bombing during the war, while some others were damaged during post-war rebellions by the Kurds in the north and the Shiites in the south.

In the meantime, reports from Iraq suggest that average Iraqis are finding it extremely difficult to meet their basic needs. The rationed items are not enough, and market prices have gone up by as much as 250 percent from the pre-war levels.

Confectionaries, clothing, tires, and automobile spare parts (whatever is available) are beyond the reach of an average Iraqi, whose monthly income is estimated at around 160 Iraqi dinars (around \$500 at the official exchange rate, but worth less than \$30 in the actual market.)

## PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

### Gaza Notables on Baker Mission, Prospects for Peace

91AE0421B Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI  
in Arabic 11 May 91 pp 18-20

[Article: "AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI Ascertains Views of Certain Gaza Strip Personages Concerning American Secretary of State Baker's Mission, Prospects for Peace, Principle of Land for Peace"]

[Text] 1. What is your evaluation of Baker's mission to the Middle East region?

2. What is your view of the principle of land for peace?

3. How can peace be achieved in the Middle East region?

These three questions were posed by AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI to a group of Gaza Strip notables, when AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI returned to follow up the position of Palestinian public opinion with regard to the events going on concerning their issue. These were the responses.

Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi:

"I have no objection to the principle of land for peace, if it is implemented in such a way as not to be incompatible with international law. Moreover, it should be within the Palestinian peace initiative. I don't expect Baker's mission to be successful, because it isn't based on international law, and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. Furthermore, it is clearly biased toward Israel."

Concerning how to achieve peace, Dr. 'Abd-al-Shafi said: "Peace can be achieved through accepting the principle of the existence of two nations, as a basis for

negotiation between the disputing parties, within the framework of an international conference under UN supervision."

Professor Fayiz Abu-Rahmah, former head of the Lawyers Union:

"As is clear, Baker's mission is stumbling, because of America's lack of determination, which is required to deal with a matter like this. The peace process cannot succeed without considerable pressure. This pressure must be exercised; without it, we will continue to whistle in the wind."

Concerning the principle of land for peace, Professor Abu-Rahmah said: "Without a doubt, the equation is a must in order to make peace. Without this equation, there can be no peace at all. The quarter that rejects this equation is not interested in achieving peace." Concerning how to achieve peace, he said: "Achieving peace requires the people's conviction, aspiring for a solution, that this solution has become possible. Without achieving the solution, peace cannot be achieved. Those opposed to finding solutions are the ones who do not seek or approve of peace."

Professor As'ad al-Saftawi:

Discussing the principle of land for peace, Dr. al-Saftawi said: "The fact is that the Israeli side, which is mobilizing all human and material resources, does not think about peace so much as it thinks about attaining the Palestinian people's capitulation, and about crushing their will in achieving Israel's national goals. Therefore, all political proposals that today come from the Palestinian people's side, start from a position of weakness, and from a position of disintegration and the breakup of Arab regimes and people's unity. They will achieve nothing. Even if we show the Israeli side that the present situation has been consolidated for all eternity, which is considered a basis for a lasting peace between two peoples, that would not satisfy Zionist ambitions to achieve their ultimate goal. They want the rest of the Arab lands, not just the land of Palestine, but also the neighboring Arab lands—with millions of inhabitants—that Israel will strive to acquire over the next 10 years. Israel's appetite will not be satisfied with swallowing the land, and implanting settlements in all parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip, until it knows that the alternative to real peace is a real danger threatening the Israeli entity with being uprooted from the region. Until we find it, therefore, the peace process will not achieve anything, in my opinion, in the foreseeable future. What is Baker's mission but an attempt to absorb the Arab masses' anger for the legacy of the Gulf War, in terms of the psychological impact of hostility against America and its allies. What are these trips, carried out by the American Secretary of State, but an attempt to demonstrate American credibility, which only confirms the death of the pledges the American President made during the Gulf War. What are they also, but an attempt to conciliate the coalition's Arab regimes, out of fear of worsening the

vengeance upon them by their peoples, and an attempt to beautify the faces of those rulers, who stood together against the will of their masses."

Professor al-Saftawi responded to the question of how to achieve peace in the region, by saying: "Peace between two peoples or two societies engaged in a struggle can only be achieved, if a sincere, genuine wish exists among those two peoples. If one of the two peoples perceives peace as not in its interests, peace between those two peoples will not be achieved by peaceful means, unless the stronger people who want peace impose their will on the other people who fear that peace. In the nature of the conflict between our people and the Israeli people, we see very clearly that our people's efforts have been extended for more than 70 years. Our people are good intentioned, and have been sincere with regard to the peace process, while this kind of response has not been received from the Israeli side. On the contrary, the Israeli people constantly try to accuse our people, who have been the victim of violence and terrorism for more than 50 years. Until our people are provided with all sources of power, including the power of united ranks and domestic thinking among our people's sons, as the vanguard of this struggle, and until there is unity of all Arab people, as a strategic fund of human depth alongside our people, the possibilities of achieving peace continue to be unattainable.

Dr. Mahmud Khalid al-Zahar, member of the Administrative Board of the Arab Medical Association:

With regard to the principle of land for peace, he says: "A similar principle is honor for money, oppression for money, dignity for money, etc." Concerning Baker's mission, Dr. al-Zahar said: "Baker's trips at this very time, especially after the conclusion of the Gulf War, are exploiting the appropriate time to impose a situation that serves the interests of America and its allies and, consequently, the results of these initiatives will only serve America's interests in the region." Regarding how to achieve peace, Dr. al-Zahar says: "To resolve the problem, one must understand its nature. Before the treatment, one must diagnose the disease and discover its causes. The disease in the Middle East region highlights a question: What is the nature of the conflict? The answer to that is: The nature of the conflict is not regional (over Palestine, for example) or ethnic (as Arab versus Israeli), but it is in fact cultural, which means that there is a philosophy and a goal on one hand, which stand in opposition to a philosophy and goal on the other hand. If we know the elements of the culture, we can understand how the solution can be reached. Elements of culture, as Malik Ibn-Nabi stated in his book, SHURUT AL-NAHDAH, are three: Man, and the values, ideas, goals, and means he carries; I and and material, i.e., the resources man employs to serve these aims; and, thirdly, time, in which man exploits the resources to achieve these aims. If we consider the first element, Arab man today, who is trying to achieve the objectives of the Islamic community, either we find him to be ignorant, or an agent of some quarter, or that he does not represent

the Islamic community's ideas and beliefs, or is incapable of understanding them, or misunderstands the nature of the conflict. In short, we find that man today does not represent the people. His ideas are either subservient to the East or to the West, or to his devil. As for the second element, which is material and resources, all the Islamic community's resources are being used to serve the communities's enemies. Arab and Islamic oil is the best evidence of that. As for the third factor, time, he feels free to waste it. Those who want to waste time, let them go to bars and brothels, the two rulers of this time. Therefore, the nature of the conflict is not in the interests of the Arab Islamic community. What is the way? The answer is the real return to Islam as the model for daily life, which regulates the behavior of the individual and society, beginning with the leader of the Islamic community and ending with the least of men in it. Doctrine is what eliminates intellectual paucity, and deals with ignorance. It is what will use the Islamic community's energies in the shortest time and, consequently, will provide the elements of victory. Therefore, we find that the simplest child who embraces Islam knows a slogan he can believe in with the deepest belief, and that is 'Islam is the solution.'"

Professor 'Abd-al-Fattah Hamid, an official of the Program to Wipe Out Illiteracy, and senior instructor in the Palestinian Red Crescent Society:

Concerning Baker's mission, he says: "Any mission of any American official in the Middle East region that is not based on an ethical commitment to the decisions of international law, pertaining to the Palestinian issue, has no value, particularly in light of the present imbalance of power on all Arab and international levels that is being imposed in the new Bush era. However, that does not keep one from hope and optimism with regard to a future reemergence of humanity, and a change in the balance of power to the benefit of right, justice, and freedom. In my opinion, despite the complications and intricacies of the situation, one is not prevented from being politically optimistic with the general movement locally, and on the Arab and international levels, within the Palestinian invariables, which the 19th Palestinian National Council [PNC] resolved, especially the question of the PLO's sole representation of the Palestinian people at home and abroad." Concerning the principle of land for peace, Professor Hamid says: "Any solution must be based on the Palestinian invariables, which were decided in the 19th PNC, based on the Palestinian peace initiative, the decisions of international law, and the consideration of the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Concerning how to achieve peace, Professor Hamid stated: "If intentions are sincere, especially on the part of the United States, and its new, Bushian head, the possibility of achieving peace becomes likely, but I doubt the credibility of the American administration. The question of achieving peace in the Middle East region requires recognizing the Palestinian people's legitimate rights,

based on the resolutions of international law, and negotiation with the PLO, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people."

Engineer Hatim Abu-Sha'ban, former head of the Engineers Union:

"Baker's mission is to lessen the pressure on America, which measures matters with different standards, following the Gulf War. Baker made three trips in one month, and the results were clear to all, that there was no tangible progress, and that Israeli intransigence was increasing day by day. On the contrary, he asked the PLO not to take a hard line, and to offer more concessions. I believe that this request must be asked of Israel, which rejects everything. Baker's mission will continue without tangible results, unless America changes its policy, and deals with Israel by pressuring them. Unless serious pressure is put on them, it will be confirmation that Baker's mission is aimed at wasting time, until election year comes in America and Israel, when political life stops, because of the elections and their impact."

As regards how to achieve peace, Abu-Sha'ban says: "In order to achieve peace, it must be a true peace, and not capitulation. A true peace includes:

1. Land for peace as a general principle;
2. The right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and to establish their independent Palestinian state, under PLO leadership, the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people;
3. The right of the Palestinian people to return, or be compensated for the 1948 migration;
4. The possibility of establishing a confederation with Jordan, to include two states (Jordan and the Palestinian state, which would include the West Bank and Gaza Strip); and,
5. Israeli withdrawal from Golan and South Lebanon.

If all that is achieved the peace will be real, and will embrace the entire region. As for a conditional peace, with many unacceptable conditions, such as rejecting the establishment of the Palestinian state, and refusing to recognize the PLO as the sole, legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, that will not achieve peace, and the region will continue in a state of war."

Regarding the principle of land for peace, Abu-Sha'ban says: "Despite the fact that I reject this expression, as if it will bestow upon us land that is not ours, in exchange for our offering peace for our part, a peace which the parties interpret in different ways, as if the land was not rightfully ours, nevertheless, the expression is unimportant toward achieving a just, comprehensive peace. The principle of land for peace in general is acceptable for the purpose of reaching a peaceful settlement, starting from the Palestinian invariables, because the important thing is, what is this peace aimed at. Is it peace in the Israeli mode, or the American mode?"

Dr. Zakariya al-Agha, chief of the Doctors Union:

"Land for peace is a formula that could be acceptable, providing that it is linked to the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, and to establish their independent state on their national soil."

As regards Baker's mission, al-Agha said: "Baker's mission cannot lead to a tangible result, unless American intentions are more serious and credible in dealing with the principal problems in the crisis. The most important problems are stopping the Israeli settlements, the future of the occupied territory, and the settlement's final form. Time must not be squandered in partial methods, leaving the core of matters to be negotiated later. Moreover, if the United States is sincere in its moves to resolve the crisis, it must put pressure on Israel to move in the direction of peace. Unless that is done, Baker's mission, or any other initiative, will remain without substance, achieving no result whatsoever."

How can peace be achieved in the Middle East?

"Peace can be achieved in the Middle East by applying international law, and the UN resolutions pertaining to the Palestinian issue, those resolutions that call for Israeli withdrawal from occupied Palestinian territory, for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, and to establish their independent state on their territory, as well as the right to return or be compensated for whomever wants that."

"This is the international law, and we demand that it be applied, as it was applied in the Gulf. There must be no double standard in dealing with issues; we want no more than that, nor less."

### Intifadah Breakdown, PLO Role Criticized

91AE0472A Paris AL-DUWALIYAH in Arabic  
17 Jun 91 pp 16-17

[Article by Salim Nassar: "Fear and Apprehension at Serious Turning Point; Will Intifadah Repeat Serious Mistakes of 1937; West Bank Leaders Hold PLO Responsible for Situation Reached at Home; Moderates Warn Against Expanding Liquidation Battles Among Resistance Ranks"]

[Text] The Palestinian intifadah [uprising] is facing a serious phase which it has never before encountered in the three and a half years of its formation and growth.

Local West Bank and Gaza Strip leaders consider it a turning point which could push the intifadah to the brink of a tempestuous revolution or could turn it back toward disintegration, fragmentation, and assassination, as happened in the past in 1936 and 1937 when a six-month strike ended with imposing Arab conditions on the mandate authorities. But while striking workers, farmers, and civil servants expected the political leaders to reap for them the fruits of the victories they had scored, the leaders split among themselves and disagreed

on how to distribute the gains, thus squandering all they had gathered in the people's name.

Golda Meir's and Moshe Dayan's memoirs contain many pages on how local Palestinian feuds were exploited and how the outcome of those feuds was used with the British to besiege the revolution and to extinguish the enthusiasm of its supporters.

Even though the Palestinian revolution was led in that phase by well-known national figures, such as Musa Kazim al-Husayni, Raghīb al-Nashashibi, Hajj Amin al-Husayni, 'Isa al-'Isa, Ya'qub Farraj, Khalil al-Sakakini, Hajj Sa'id al-Shawwa, Jubran Kuzma, 'Awni 'Abd-al-Hadi, 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Husayni, Shaykh Sulayman al-Faruqi, 'Umar al-Barghuthi, and As'ad al-Shuqayri, their agreement to fight Jewish immigration did not stop them from disagreeing with each other on the means of resistance and the methods of struggle. This disagreement caused them to split and clash, thus transforming the nationalist elements into a number of parties, including the National Defense Party under Raghīb al-Nashashibi's leadership, the Arab Independence Party under 'Awni 'Abd-al-Hadi's leadership, the Arab-Palestinian Party under Jamal al-Husayni's leadership, the National Bloc Party under 'Abd-al-Latif Salah's leadership, the Reform Party under Dr. Husayn al-Khalidi's leadership, and the Youth Congress Committee under Ya'qub al-Ghusayni's leadership.

All these parties failed to move the first Palestinian revolution from the phase of fighting the occupier to the phase of ousting the occupier and getting rid of him finally. It is true that the British Government worked to incite local disagreements and to develop political feuds. But it is also true that most of the leaders fell captive to personal rancor, led the revolution astray, and blew up all mainstays of national unity.

Today, the Palestinian intifadah is facing the same challenges, with a big difference in the dimensions of the Israeli dangers, Jewish immigration, and international pressures. Instead of uniting the intifadah ranks, the constant threat has entrenched disagreement, division, and disunity among its ranks in a manner that makes it difficult to save the situation and restore activity, harmony, and understanding to the influential elements.

The Israeli occupation is intervening today as the British mandate intervened in the second half of the 1930's to impede the Palestinian revolution's momentum and to preoccupy its leaders with vendettas and liquidation battles. What we mean is that the Israeli occupation is using the climate of lackey liquidation to carry out assassinations in its own interest, thus spreading confusion and chaos among the fighters' ranks.

Thus, we find that the Palestinian arena has now become open to the various tendencies, especially since the number of victims among those collaborating with the enemy has risen to 400. According to a summary published by the AFP, the number of Palestinians killed with the bullets of Israeli troops or settlers since eruption of

the intifadah in December 1987 has amounted to 809 victims. Between the occupiers' acts of liquidation and the resistance leaders' acts of revenge, the number of Palestinian victims has been rising daily in a manner that has alarmed Faysal al-Husayni and motivated him to declare a full review of the intifadah's course out of concern for the unity of the national ranks.

Taking advantage of this situation, Defense Minister Moshe Arens recently proclaimed "the beginning of the intifadah's end" and said that his country "is in the process of triumphing over this phenomenon."

AL-FAJR, issued in occupied East Jerusalem, has warned of the danger of the acts of revenge out of concern for national unity and for avoiding the perils of the call for a purge. This does not mean, according to the paper's editorial, that suspect elements should continue be present but that the leaders at home and abroad must restructure the intifadah ranks in a manner that is more harmonious with the intifadah's tendencies and objectives. Such a review requires looking for the negative manifestations that have widened the gap between the political leadership and the popular base, keeping in mind that meetings held in Jerusalem recently were devoted to discussing the Unified Command's statements and the degree of the public's readiness to perform difficult tasks without making its elements easy targets for the Jewish settlers' bullets.

As the voices of critics have risen to criticize the PLO and to demand that Abu-'Ammar engage in self-criticism in order to contain the rancor against Palestinians in the Gulf, so have opponents' voices risen in the bank and the strip calling for reassessing the intifadah on bases compatible with the circumstances of the phase, especially since liquidation acts are no longer confined to the command's orders but have surpassed these orders to an extent that reminds one of the acts of revenge which mowed down hundreds of revolutionaries in the war of the families.

Recently, Palestinian organizations distributed confidential pamphlets in which they stressed the need to draft proposals capable of boosting intifadah activities and reviving its limbs. Hamas has warned of the dangers of suspension and review because such a course will spread confusion in the ranks and will expand the circle of criticism in a manner that undermines the movement's momentum and its sound tendencies. In addition to these perils, Israel may exploit the reform and review process to carry out an act of political infiltration that undermines the broad organization in the towns and villages.

For these reasons, radicals believe that the intifadah has fallen captive to monotony and repetition and that only armed struggle can bring it out of the quagmire of flabbiness. This means transforming the intifadah into a revolution and moving from the level of the stone weapon to another level of violence which makes the Israeli aware of the dangers of real confrontation.

Observers of this popular movement say that a series of mistakes have contributed to weakening its onrush and confusing its ranks. Foremost among these mistakes is the concessions the PLO made before getting any promise that the desired objectives will be accomplished. It is true that the intifadah armed Abu-'Ammar with the required power of negotiation. But it is also true that denying the head of the Palestinian state any gain has plunged the "intifadah people" into the dilemma of running in place and repetition, i.e., the dilemma of continued strikes, demonstrations, and confrontation without the presence of a party capable of exploiting the outcome to regain the land or restore the legitimate rights.

The second mistake that affected the intifadah, confused its activity, and obstructed its efforts was the "miscalculation" in the Gulf war. The aligned position taken by the PLO has led to the freezing of aid, which has been estimated at more than \$90 million monthly. These sums were enough to make up for the loss incurred by those who had lost their jobs or closed their businesses. The financial situation has reflected negatively on schools, hospitals, and social institutions. Some needy people have been compelled to look for work with the occupation authorities. So that the phenomenon of cooperation with the enemy does not grow, teams have been formed to spread terror and to assassinate whoever weakens in the face of need. It is natural that this transformation would affect the intifadah's course, the PLO's policy, and people dealing with the Palestinian affair in general. This is an extremely serious matter because it revives the climate of vedettas and of liquidations which impeded the Palestinian revolution in 1937 and which encouraged the Jewish organizations to exploit the feuds to accomplish their objectives of occupation and settlement.

Abu-'Ammar, George Habash, Nayif Hawatimah, and Ahmad Jibril fear a recurrence of this mistake which will culminate in foiling the intifadah or in ousting it from the arena of the Palestinian issue. Should such a development materialize, it could affect the leadership of the four political organizations that form the PLO.

This worrying condition in the West Bank and Gaza has stirred the fronts at home and motivated them to adhere to the policy of self-restraint and of the long-drawn [procession] out of concern for the unity and solidarity of the resistance. The intifadah leaders have accused the PLO of being preoccupied with concerns other than theirs and of turning to the fields of action abroad in the hope of getting a feeble entity within a demilitarized confederation. These leaders say that the Algerian revolution has provided a magnificent example of the importance of the domestic front and of its impact on the decisions of the major powers. It is these leaders' belief that in its general policy, the PLO focused on winning over external forces without paying attention to maintaining the internal situation in the West Bank and Gaza. Consequently, the intifadah has turned into a negative phenomenon as a result of the problems the PLO has created for it or as a result of the foreign policy faults

which have reflected on the entire situation in the West Bank towns, East Jerusalem, and Gaza Strip. Perhaps the disunity, aimlessness, and perplexity being experienced by the Palestinians are no more than a magnified reflection of the real condition of the Arab peoples who are divided between internal demands and external ambitions.

#### **Abu-'Ayyash on PLO, Hamas, Immigration**

91AE0444A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
18 Jun 91 p 2

[Interview with Ridwan Abu-'Ayyash, head of Palestinian Journalists' Union, by Zaki Shihab in London; date not given: "Problems Between PLO and Hamas Spring From Individual Conflicts in Performance"—first three paragraphs are AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT introduction]

[Text] Ridwan Abu-'Ayyash, head of the Palestinian Journalists' Union in the occupied territories, is a personality who enjoys popularity and a broad base. During the last few weeks, these enabled him to play a large role in calming disputes that flared up between Fatah supporters and Hamas supporters in a number of villages and cities of the West Bank and Gaza, leading to a number of deaths and injuries.

Last week, Abu-'Ayyash left the occupied territories and went abroad for his first visit in a long time. He visited the Italian capital, where he met with Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti. Then he went to London, where he will meet today with British officials and ministers to discuss developments in the occupied territories and efforts to promote the peace process in the Middle East.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT spoke with Abu-'Ayyash about new developments. The interview with him was as follows:

[Shihab] Events in the occupied territories have caused uneasiness among those who follow the intifadah. The fighting between Hamas and Fatah is particularly troubling. What is the situation now? Have efforts by you and others succeeded in ending the problem?

[Abu-'Ayyash] Naturally, in societies fighting and struggling for the right to live in freedom, independence, and dignity there will be some problems in the ranks of those fighting for this freedom as the societies move toward freedom. These occasional problems are in fact the result of one thing and one circumstance: the occupation, its oppression, and the suffering of our people in the occupied territory. This suffering is increasing every day because of the critical economic situation, the siege imposed by Israeli occupation authorities, and various practices that make the struggle a complicated and involved process. The problems that have emerged from time to time between the Palestinian national movement, which the PLO represents, and Hamas are neither essential nor deep. They spring from individual conflicts at the level of performance and action. The goal of all

members of the Palestinian people, wherever they are, is to end the Israeli occupation, but the way and method differ from person to person or from one working group to another. With fellow militants from the city of Nablus, I had the honor of circumscribing an unfortunate problem that had occurred among our people. With God's help, the problem was settled by defining the terms that will govern field relations between parties in the Palestinian struggle and holy war so that any future difficulties—God forbid that there be any—are overcome. The fact that our Hamas brothers are outside the intifadah's Unified National Command makes it very important for them to coordinate with it to settle any problems or operational conflicts that may arise in the future. This is not only to avoid problems or prevent regrettable incidents; the need for unified action makes it imperative for everyone to join ranks like a well-knit building one part of which strengthens the other. Internal conflict brings failure and only serves the schemes of the occupation, spreading disunion and division. The maxim of the occupation is well known: "Divide and conquer." We in the occupied territory can in no way accept this maxim. We are doing all we can to strengthen internal nationalist relations, nationalist relations with our brothers in Hamas, and relations between any groups that clash. Our people are one and are united behind the PLO. This necessarily means that we all are against the occupiers. We are working together to end the Israeli occupation, so that peace may spread over Jerusalem, the lands of Jerusalem, and every inch of our sacred Islamic land.

We feel pain, and our Arab Muslim people everywhere feel pain with us, whenever they confront a problem between brothers struggling and fighting for truth and freedom. The effects of these problems are very dangerous for our people and for their steadfastness inside the country. They weaken their resolve, decrease their steadfastness, and open the way for the occupation to dig in and play the role of spectator.

So I urge all sincere forces at home and abroad to work to join ranks and unite their efforts to strengthen national unity to end the brutal occupation and the suffering of our people who are struggling in the occupied territories.

I urge all parties to arrive at a charter for national action to assure that relations with brothers in Hamas are regulated and that the activities of the intifadah—the responsibility of all Palestinians—are regulated. This charter should be based on the following points:

1. Prohibiting the practice of appearing with masked faces before the Palestinian public.
2. Committing no excesses for any reason.
3. Complete and comprehensive coordination between all field commands.
4. Concentrating on an immediate solution to economic and social problems.

5. Building economic and social institutions on the basis of "to each according to his needs," as part of an initial step with clear features and definite details.

6. Alerting and warning against all the dangers that surround us all if we do not adhere to this charter.

[Shihab] Don't you think that this is taking the intifadah and its achievements backward?

[Abu-'Ayyash] When the great and glorious popular intifadah broke out, it was like a great mission—a transformation in society, the nation, the struggle, and life. Purity and unbounded dedication were its most important overall features. This pioneering experiment of struggle achieved a success that astounded the world and made the Palestinian cause an open issue in everyone's mind. It was a cause that many had tried to hide, but it imposed its presence, new equations, and new concepts. Everyone near and far came to recognize that the right of our people cannot be taken away by whatever means of violence, no matter how great the means and the conspiracies against their cause may become.

After four years of daily suffering, of innocent martyrs, of people dead or wounded, of the occupier's prisons and camps crowded with detainees, of homes destroyed and the intifadah's field commanders banished—after all this, it is only normal that on the long road to freedom and independence certain distasteful negative phenomena should emerge. The healthy national mind and conscience does not accept them. I can characterize them as dangerous excesses that leave destructive effects on our people in the occupied territory and threaten the glorious intifadah.

I think the success of the intifadah was based essentially on two things. First, there was comprehensive general action without cliquishness or factionalism. Everyone was working for the whole. Everyone had one clear and definite goal that could be achieved only by cooperation, solidarity, mutual help, and rising above individualism and competition toward what was best within the project of the overall struggle.

Secondly, the situation was evaluated month by month and stage by stage, and there was adaptation to the resources and abilities of our people. In this way, the intifadah did not constitute a burden added to the burdens of the occupation. It was part of a well-guided and studied policy. It was a mechanism realizable without exhaustion and without departing from the effectiveness of the motive force that stood behind the intifadah, directing and moving it toward what was best. We cannot talk about the intifadah's negative aspects of factionalism, passing problems, or a loss of dedication without talking about its many different positive achievements, such as creating militant political consciousness, changing concepts, propelling the course of struggle, and accelerating the process of ending the occupation.

In order for the appeals issued by those concerned about the continuance of the intifadah, with its human, economic, political, and mass dimension, to succeed, there remains a pressing need to reevaluate and improve certain aspects. This can take place only through intensive programs relying on sound, well thought-out foundations—such as unification of effort, complete coordination with brothers in Hamas and all other intifadah groups, and concentration on bad and destructive economic aspects that are due to scarcity and lack of resources and increased everyday economic repression.

If these points are considered responsibly and seriously, overcoming some negative aspects will become feasible. By themselves, the appeals issued everywhere by our brothers cannot enable us to overcome these negative aspects. Perhaps the most important issues that should occupy our attention continually are how to build public institutions, strengthen the steadfastness of our people in the occupied homeland, support their sacred bond, and deal with the problems that they face with the utmost responsibility and resolution.

[Shihab] What came out of the meetings of Palestinians in the occupied territories with American Secretary of State James Baker?

[Abu-'Ayyash] The fact is that the meetings between certain brother Palestinians and Secretary of State Baker have produced no tangible results thus far. There are two main reasons. Our people understood the truth about these two reasons from the beginning.

First, Israeli stubbornness and conceit will continue. The continued policy of establishing settlements on Arab land, impoverishment, organized repression, and all the other occupation policies prove that the Israeli government is stubborn and rejects peace. It says no to the PLO, no to Jerusalem, no to the international conference, no to Security Council Resolution 242, no to an effective European role, no to international law, no to a settlement based on right and justice. While the leaders of Israel make resounding statements about their love of peace to deceive the world, Israeli government ministers are implementing the policy of no's in practice on the ground. What peace are they talking about, and to what American efforts are they responding?

Second, the United States puts no real pressure on Israel and takes no positions that would put Israel on the defensive. The policy of a double standard is one that the United States really and clearly follows. I think that Baker's policy of shuttle meetings cannot succeed if the American administration does not proceed according to international law and if it does not find the necessary means to pressure Israel into respecting Security Council resolutions.

About options for representation: Clearly the issue of representation is the business of the Palestinian people. It is an internal issue for them. Our people have announced on many occasions that the PLO is their sole legitimate representative. Only our people can choose

the form of their representation in any negotiations. The problem does not lie in the form, but in the substance. The substance of the matter is the question, What can Israel offer? Will it recognize land for peace? Will it continue negotiating until a comprehensive settlement is found? Does it have a complete idea of a peace process, as the Palestinians have a comprehensive peace plan issued in 1988? These questions are the substantive matters that must be given as much attention as the talk about the formal question. Nevertheless, the PLO can clearly decide the method for Palestinian representation.

[Shihab] What are the dangers of a continued flow of Jewish immigrants?

[Abu-'Ayyash] Jewish immigration is becoming more dangerous every day because of Israel's ingathering policy for which the Palestinians will pay with their land. Although the amount of Palestinian land confiscated for purposes of settlement has reached more than 60 percent, the continued process of inducing the world's Jews to immigrate to Israel will make Israeli expansion into every part of the occupied territories an accomplished fact. This accords with Israel's fait accompli policy of altering the geographical and demographic character of the occupied territories. This is a major issue and must rank on the scale of priorities of the Arab and Islamic world. The complete Judaizing of the land of Palestine and the progressive expulsion of its inhabitants does not necessarily mean that Israel's appetite will stop there. Now that the Soviet Union has opened wide the gate of emigration, Israel is opening its gates for the Jews of the world to immigrate. This, of course, will be at the expense of Palestinian land. This is what the settlement operations on the land confirm in practice every day. It is what the pronouncements that issue from the Israeli command confirm. We have raised the subject with every minister who has been sent and with every international personality who has visited the occupied territory. However, international action on this matter has been limited to characterizing the settlements as illegal. The characterization has not been turned into pressure to stop the settlement process and the Judaizing and absorption of Palestinian lands.

[Shihab] You spent a considerable amount of time in Israeli prisons. What can you say about the suffering of their Arab inmates?

[Abu-'Ayyash] Israel has crammed thousands upon thousands of young Palestinians into prison camps and has made itself a big prison. It has subjected them to various kinds of compulsion that violate every Geneva convention. It has treated Palestinian prisoners as no prisoners in the world are treated.

In the Ansar desert prison in the Negev, Israel has set up tents and filled them with more than 7,000 militants. It has forbidden visits to them. Most of them are administrative detainees who have not had trials—some for more than three years. Israel has used policies of isolation and humiliation. Prisoners in the central prisons

have been deprived of visits, clothing, sanitary supplies, doctors, and all the necessities of daily life. On several occasions, Palestinian prisoners have gone on hunger strikes, sometimes for indefinite periods. They have conducted sit-ins and protests at Red Cross headquarters in many places. They have sent hundreds of telegrams to various humanitarian agencies such as Amnesty International, but Israel has ignored and continues to ignore all international laws and conventions.

From this information rostrum, we in the occupied territory urge sincere members of our Arab and Islamic nation to help our prisoners in their prisons. They must mobilize the power of the media to deal with our just cause by sending delegations to determine the facts, exposing conditions, showing social solidarity with prisoners' families, sending international legal delegations, defending prisoners' rights, and alleviating their suffering. Our prisoners are freedom's prisoners. Most have been imprisoned without trial or conviction. The hunger and the deprivation of freedom by the occupier are a disgrace to humanity. I think our brothers in the Arab and Islamic world will be the best help to the cause of Palestinian prisoners who are being subjected to continual suffering.

[Shihab] The economic situation in the occupied territories is passing through a critical period. In what ways do you think it can be overcome?

[Abu-'Ayyash] The reality of the economic situation in the wake of the Gulf war is very frightening. Unemployment has increased, with more than 130,000 Palestinian workers out of work. More than 250,000 other Palestinians who were working in the Gulf and sending money to their families lost their source of livelihood. It is also Israel's policy to impose continuous taxes and not to allow the creation of a Palestinian economic structure that is productive, rather than merely consumption-oriented.

#### **PFLP, PLO Debate Use of Weapons in Territories**

*TA0907160891 Jerusalem HADASHOT in Hebrew  
9 Jul 91 p 21*

[Text] Yoram Binor reports that, last week, members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine [PFLP] marched in the Casbah in Nablus while shouting "whoever is tired of their weapons can put them down, but we are carrying on." This was a blatant hint aimed at PLO supporters in the territories, who have traditionally refrained, at the order of organizational headquarters in Tunis, from using live weapons. Popular Front activists harshly criticized the "feebleness of PLO members with respect to armed struggle," and they want to continue carrying out "live" attacks in order to regain every centimeter of Palestinian land.

The marchers in Nablus did not tell the complete truth. Until now, the Popular Front strongly opposed the PLO on matters pertaining to the use of live fire. Recently, an

internal debate among Front activists has raged on the matter. Some of them have adopted a relatively pragmatic approach, similar to the position of the PLO and leaning toward a political settlement.

Others have not strayed from the traditional course. It would appear that attacks such as those of recent days will only intensify the debate.

Hani al-Issawi, a journalist and an accepted leftist in the territories, claims that the use of weapons is not a phenomenon, but a response to the fact that the Israeli Government is "pushing the Palestinians into a corner, without even the appearance of a political solution in the offing. In such a situation, it will happen that people will use weapons. It is very possible that this radicalism will lead to more killing in the territories, with knives and other instruments." In his opinion, the switch to the use of weapons is not necessarily a positive process, since it will bring about the loss of some of the accomplishments achieved by the Palestinians in the course of the intifadah, especially in Israeli and world opinion. In his words, military activities were always the doing of individuals closely associated to some organization and, therefore, there is no chance that such acts will become the primary face of the intifadah, but they will remain the business of a limited group. "No Palestinian likes to hear about murder or violence, but, to my dismay, because of the violence in which we now live, I cannot say that there is a determined position among the public against the use of weapons. It must be remembered that just because someone does not condemn such an act, it does not mean that they are necessarily liable to carry it out themselves."

### **West Bank Leaders Call for Reassessment of Intifadah**

*91AE0480C Jerusalem AL-USBV AL-JADID in Arabic  
15 Jun 91 p 25*

[Article: "We Need To Reassess Conditions"]

[Text] National Palestinian notables in the occupied territories believe that there is national consensus on the need to reassess the conditions in the occupied territories. Faysal al-Husayni, chairman of the Arab Studies Association, has said that the conditions need to be evaluated. [He added:] I voiced this opinion a year and a half ago on the stage of the Arab Culture and Arts Theater. I touched on the dangers engulfing our struggle and underlined the imminent dangers. Now, I repeat that we practically need to reassess the conditions under the slogan of rebuilding our institutions. I will cite as an example of this our infrastructure, whether economic or educational. Inasmuch as possible, we must use European aid and must transform these institutions into a reserve that gives our people the ability to stand fast.

Al-Husayni pointed out that the backbone for building our society is in resuming dealing with our people through quarter and village committees which must be

created to be able to offer and meet the services and the needs directly, be they at the social level or at the level of daily living.

He also said that this must be done fundamentally far from the four-party or five-party structure of the Unified Command organizations and on the basis of the available qualifications and capabilities and the ability to render the services.

Zuhayrah Kamal, the Women's Action Committee chairwoman, has expressed the opinion that our country is experiencing genuine problems and that a part of these problems emanates from the failure of the "national movement" to develop a clear national program. She pointed out that there is need for reassessment and "it is my opinion that everyone realizes this. What we need is a serious pause and courage in confronting the existing flaw."

She said that factionalism has contributed to the failure to develop a collective action program and that the Israeli authorities have reinforced factionalism and pre-occupied the people with secondary disputes instead of letting them confront the occupation.

She also expressed the belief that the greatest momentum was gained when the people's broadest factions participated because the forms of action existing then enabled all the masses to contribute. When those forms were reduced to a single form, the retreat began. She added that this form of action returned us to the image of the hero around whom people gather and applaud, but without contribution on their part to a collective process. What is required is to curb the use of "masks."

Zuhayrah Kamal referred to the hardship suffered by the popular masses throughout the past four years, including the confiscation of their lands, the Soviet Jewish immigration, the assault on the PLO, and the Gulf war which has contributed to frustrating the masses.

Riyad al-Maliki, a lecturer at Bi'r Zayt University, has said that the conditions need to be reassessed and that education is a fundamental process in steadfastness, not just in survival. He added: Regrettably, ill manifestations and negative reactions from the masses reflect an absence of the reassessment process whereas what is required is a broad and comprehensive reassessment process to which the national movement, in its broad sense and embodied in all the people's factions, contributes so that the cause of the malady can be identified.

Al-Maliki expressed the belief that it is essential that we deal on the basis of the principle of criticism and self-criticism, draw up a program after the reassessment process, and avoid confining the assessment process to the current phase but carry it further so that our people can survive and develop.

### Aim of Gaza Delegation's Cairo Trip Explained

91AE0421A Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI  
in Arabic 4 May 91 p 20

[Interview with 'Ukayl Matar, head of the Engineers Union in the Gaza Strip: "Uproar Over Delegation's Visit to Cairo Unjustified;" first two paragraphs AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI introduction; place and date not given]

[Text] On 8 April 1991, a delegation from Gaza City visited Cairo, in the first step of its kind since the tension in Palestinian-Egyptian relations after the start of the Gulf crisis. The delegation was comprised of Professor Fayiz Abu-Rahmah, former chief of the Lawyers Union; Dr. Akram Matar, director of al-'Uyun Hospital in Gaza, and a former member of Gaza Municipal Council; and Engineer 'Uqayl Matar, current chairman of the Engineers Association's Board of Directors in the Gaza Strip. This visit was accompanied by a media uproar, especially after the Israeli media reported political goals for this visit, and the results of the differing positions here in the occupied territory.

In order to clarify matters concerning this unexpected visit, at a time when the region is preoccupied with the peace initiative, led by American Secretary of State James Baker, AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI talked with delegation member Eng. 'Uqayl Matar, in order to pursue the goals and results of the Gaza delegation's visit to Cairo.

[AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI] There has been much discussion here about the goals of your delegation's visit to Cairo. The media addressed this visit a great deal, and reactions over its objectives have been disparate. Would you please explain to AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI the real goal of this visit?

[Matar] I would like to point out that the media uproar, which accompanied our visit to Cairo, was unjustified, in terms of the amount of media attention, unless the purpose behind it was to stir up public opinion, and sow seeds of discord and doubt among brothers and friends within our one people. They forget, however, that this good land is a holy land, in which the plants of wickedness and corruption cannot be planted long, before the complete truth emerges.

Moreover, even though this visit was far from having any political goal, I reject the inference, because the reference to this goal itself, at this time, is with the intent to allude to the possibility of bypassing the legitimate leadership of the Palestinian people. This is what we reject completely. We constantly confirm the soleness of the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people. We cannot permit any party whatsoever, under any circumstance, even merely to think about exceeding this representation, which we are unanimous about. We will continue to adhere to this principle, with all force possible.

As for the basic and sole purpose of our visit to Cairo, it was our perception, our feeling at the time, of the magnitude of the suffering that our people are experiencing, and we were searching for available means to help the economy and humanity, without linkage in any form whatsoever between economic aid and any political substance which, by its nature, would infringe upon the Palestinian invariables of our people. We would not permit any quarter to exploit our difficult circumstances, and the policy of starvation being pursued to make our steadfast people bow in submission.

### Visit's Goal

[AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI] What were the results achieved by your delegation's visit to Cairo?

[Matar] I again stress that the main purpose of our visit to Cairo was purely economic and humanitarian. In this regard, we contacted numerous parties, in order to discuss various matters with them, which can be summarized as follows:

1. Contact was made with a representative of the Islamic Bank, and we gave him a well-thought-out group of housing graphs and projects which, primarily, pertain to engineers who suffer from housing problems. These projects were well received, and there was discussion about these projects being broadened to include other segments of our society in subsequent stages, inasmuch as the housing problem is considered one of the chronic problems in the Gaza Strip. Consideration was also given, in the event these projects get underway, to the fact that they will absorb considerable idle labor from all specializations, which could contribute in a large way to resolving the unemployment problem. This is especially true, after the arbitrary actions by the authorities, the latest being denying most of our workers the opportunity to work inside the green line. In my opinion, this would be a central objective in the resistance against the plot of organized starvation being faced by our people, with the purpose of making them submit politically.
2. Maintaining the accomplishments made for the support of out-of-work engineers, registered with the Engineers Union in Gaza, and promoting these accomplishments in the best way possible.
3. Contact was made with a representative of the European Common Market (Ms. Hanrishi). With her, we discussed the difficult economic conditions from which the occupied territories suffer, and the possibility of assistance in finding solutions for them. I would like to emphasize that we noted sincere intentions with regard to financing industrial and production projects, especially projects submitted by engineers.
4. In accordance with the wishes of the brothers abroad, we discussed with Arab League officials the suffering of the people at the crossing point in Rafah, and the Egyptian airports, and the seriousness of not renewing the residence permits of Palestinian workers in the Gulf, especially those who do not carry Israeli identity cards.

Moreover, the possibility of opening new job opportunities for new graduates was discussed. We gave them a detailed explanation concerning the engineers' economic conditions, and the possibility of supporting various projects for them in the Gaza Strip.

#### Political Developments and Baker's Trips

[AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI] What is your opinion, as head of the Engineers Union, concerning recent political developments in the region, especially after Baker's visits, as well as concerning the so-called regional conference?

[Matar] I would like to point out that any political development or initiative, which is not basically aimed at obtaining our people's legitimate rights to self-determination, and the establishment of their independent state, is a maneuver aimed at bypassing our people's accomplishments, achieved by their blood and suffering over the past 40 years.

We serve notice that our people are fully aware of, and totally alert to, any attempt aimed at ending the intifadah and its accomplishments, which would be a shameless attempt, doomed to failure, as have other attempts in the past. Our people have always proved by their sacrifices that they are able to resist such maneuvers.

We welcome any political initiative by any quarter, whose purpose is to assist our people in attaining their legitimate rights, without infringing on the solemnity of this people's representation, or attempting to disregard their legitimate leadership, the PLO. We also support taking into consideration the interests of all parties to the dispute in the region.

We categorically reject a regional conference, if it is to be an alternative to the international conference, which is the basis of the Palestinian peace plan. It is the appropriate framework, in which all parties, including the Palestinian side, can sit as full partners, under UN auspices.

#### Amendment of Customary Law in Hebron Discussed

91AE0480A Jerusalem AL-USBU' AL-JADID in Arabic  
15 Jun 91 pp 4-5

[Article: "After Issuance of Hebron Governorate Social Charter, Call for Renewing Debate on Proposed Social Charter"]

[Text] Tribal law is unique in its commendable ability to ordinarily control a developing society and to provide realistic and available solutions and settlements to numerous problems and complexities encountered by such a society at a certain phase. Generally, our Arab societies, including our Palestinian society, of course, have found in this law, which is inherited generation after generation, a reassuring domain where the means

and elements of stability, cooperation, and unity are provided. Even though development, the emergence of governments, and the dispersal of sub-clans, clans, and tribes have greatly reduced the immediate importance of the tribal law and have replaced it with official judiciary institutions and bodies, general tradition has continued to safeguard and support this law. Moreover, governments and institutions have not openly opposed it and have not tried to obliterate and eliminate it. Cultural institutions may work to revive and proliferate it in accordance with a purely hereditary vision at times and with an educational vision at other times.

In our Palestinian society in particular, we have found ourselves in a situation which requires us to pay serious attention to our tribal law at both the hereditary and educational levels and in terms of decision-making in a serious social phase under the umbrella of the occupation. The serious consequences of this situation have been embodied, especially recently, in widespread theft, increasing attempts to steal money and property, violation of the inviolable, drug trafficking and drug use, and in all the ugly and varied forms of a corruption whose criminal pace is accelerating daily. This has led anew to the resounding talk about the inevitability of accomplishing and completing a social charter for solidarity and unity among all citizens in our occupied land—a charter that binds each of us individually and that, at the same time, puts the responsibility on the shoulders of the family, the clan, and the tribe, if necessary.

Even though numerous articles had been published and a number of lectures and symposiums had been organized on this issue at more than one site, not a single practical step was taken on this path until the inhabitants of Hebron agreed around the end of last month, on 24 May specifically, on a charter which they called the "charter to promote virtue and prohibit vice." The charter carries the signatures of the governorates' clans and tribes and it contains 10 clear and explicit articles on joint responsibility to confront all the negative manifestations that have begun to proliferate in our local society due to numerous reasons. The most significant of these articles which try to provide a solution and a cure is the sixth article which states verbatim that "support for a criminal by his family makes the family jointly responsible with the criminal. Claim of innocence or disavowal after the fact shall not be acceptable. Everybody is a shepherd and everybody is responsible for his flock. Therefore, a family has to restrain and deter the criminal and has to define its position toward him in advance." Thus, this article ties the individual's responsibility with the group's responsibility. In this context, the group is the criminal's immediate family. For example, a father may not disavow his son or a son may not disavow his father if either has committed an offense. The responsibility for eliminating the offense or dealing with its consequences is a joint responsibility. This is an explicit cultural call that allows nobody to bury his head in the sand or to claim innocence.

The seventh article embraces the concept of the criminal's "social ostracism." This is a well-known old tribal concept. A thief, a drug trafficker, and a gambler must be boycotted firmly so that they, and others, would be deterred and would, at the same time, be prodded toward pious repentance. The charter does not disregard this repentance because it also seeks, as much as possible, to cure, reform, and re-educate the delinquents themselves.

In this article, we will not debate the articles of this charter to say that we support all or part of this or that article because this is not what our article seeks in form or in content. What we wish to see in the Hebron Governorate charter is a new inlet to a traditional and pragmatic debate throughout all our occupied territories on the tribal law issue. It is unreasonable for one location to solve its problems and issues to the exclusion of other locations at a time when we realize that these problems and issues are widespread in all parts of our occupied territories. Can we, therefore, hold this dialogue at the broadest level and with the profoundest capability so that we understand together how we can utilize this deep-rooted heritage to serve the interest of our society in its entirety and to establish social control over an extraordinary situation?

We are aware in advance that some social disparity exists, by necessity, between this place and that one. Usage, tradition, and custom permissible in that place may not be permissible in this place. Consequently, we may be confronted with the impossibility of achieving accord on all provisions and points of the tribal law in the strict and immediate sense of the word. This is proper, in our opinion. However, we call fundamentally for examining the entire issue with renewed vigilance and with full awareness of the reality we are facing so that we can select what we deem fit, document this selection, and adhere to it in every place, be it a city, a village, a bedouin settlement, or a camp. We are citizens primarily and place makes no difference. We are confronted with the same problems and issues, and place makes no difference in this confrontation either.

Consequently, the comprehensive question that arises is: How can we conduct this joint examination or how can we accomplish our unified social charter for our entire local society in the occupied territories?

We believe that the first practical step must be embodied in a call issued by a specialized committee of local researchers and legists for a general cultural-social conference in which tribal judges, intellectuals, people experienced with reform committees, lawyers, educators, heads of clan councils which have spread recently in most parts of the territories, representatives of the local institutions and bodies, and other concerned citizens participate.

This conference will culminate with a comprehensive charter drafted carefully and attentively and signed by participants in the conference and by all institutions,

organizations, clubs, unions, and associations so that it would be binding to everybody and it could be immediately transformed into a published and well-known charter that is made clear to all people.

Naturally, the publication, familiarization, and explanation can be accomplished only with the available media power. We reckon that our local press is capable of this important task and of keeping pace with the charter so it can be introduced into every home, school, street, farm, and factory not after completion of the plan for which we are calling but also, and especially, in the daily call for this plan. We seriously and profoundly aspired to having every citizen participate in this plan according to his ability, within the bounds of his capabilities, and within the framework of his vision and education.

From this platform in AL-USBU' AL-JADID, we renew our call for debating this issue and we stress our eagerness to open our pages to opinions and analyses that fall within the context of confronting all the negatives which are trying to infiltrate our ranks and to sweep away the firm fabric of our society from within.

We are, by necessity, optimistic regarding this call and regarding our ability to put what we accomplish by consent into words and into reform-oriented field action so that we can touch the one heart which pumps blood into our body and the one intellect with which we agree. There is no disagreement over reform and success or over the good that will spread to all.

#### **Public Outcry Against Armed Robbery in Territories**

*91AA0480B Jerusalem AL-USBU' AL-JADID in Arabic  
15 Jun 91 p 39*

[Article: "Large-Scale Denunciation of Murder of Gaza Merchant by Robbers' Bullets; Citizens Determined to Expose Renegade Criminals"]

[Text] The criminal act which claimed the life of 46-year old Mazin Zaki Khayyal, a well-known Gaza merchant who was killed by the bullets of a band of thieves, is part of the increasing acts of theft and robbery committed against citizens' property in the bank and the strip. 'Ammar Sab' Futuh was also stabbed during an attempt to rob a goldsmith's shop in Nabulus.

Three armed men stormed the home of the late Khayyal at about 0700 on 5 June 1991 and led 'Abd-al-Rahman Mahmud Abu-Ghubn, the guard, to a remote room in the ground floor of the home and then used the intercom installed in the home to ask the late Khayyal to open the door. When he did so, they asked him to enter into a room in the ground floor and asked him about the apartment of Hajjah Sarah, Khayyal's aunt and Rashad al-Shawwa's widow, which is adjacent to his home. They then took Khayyal under the threat of arms to this apartment and asked his aunt for money that she had obtained a few days earlier for a piece of land she had sold for nearly \$400,000. A fight broke out between the

deceased and the armed men during which they opened fire on Khayyal, hitting him in his right shoulder and chest. They then seized the \$400,000 in his aunt's possession and jewelry valued at nearly 30,000 Jordanian dinars and ran away while firing into the air. The robbers then got into a car that was passing through the area and fled immediately.

A climate of resentment and wrath has prevailed in Gaza in the wake of this crime and hundreds of citizens went to the house where condolences are conveyed to declare their denunciation of this ugly criminal act. Representatives of the national institutions also visited the house. These institutions have issued a statement denouncing this heinous crime, strongly condemning the armed robbery which claimed the life of citizen Mazin Zaki Khayyal, and expressing the view that this ugly incident constitutes a serious manifestation which must be confronted with utter firmness and strength in order to protect the citizens from the wickedness of outlaws.

A statement issued by Gaza Municipality says that these serious criminal acts which are designated to attack innocent citizens' money and property must be confronted by inhabitants in all parts of the city who must unite to wipe out the wicked renegade criminals. In the face of such incidents, everyone in the streets, quarters, and [thoughtout] the city are responsible for exposing and unmasking whoever allows himself to commit such attacks so that these people do not constitute a mark of disgrace in this city's face.

In Nabulus, two individuals armed with knives attacked Sab' Futuh's and Samir Jabir's jewelry shop, wounding 20-year old 'Ammar Futuh, who resisted the attackers, in the back and the legs. Citizens pursued the two thieves and were able to apprehend one of them.

It is to be noted that numerous incidents have occurred in Nabulus in the past two months, including the robbery of Sufan's shop from which electrical equipment valued at 50,000 dinars was stolen during the curfew.

In Qalqilyah area, there have been more than 20 thefts, including car thefts. Some homes have also been stoned and agricultural plastic houses have been torn. Thieves also attacked the shop of Muhammad 'Awwad Qasim, located in al-Husayn Circle, and stole tens of cheese tins from it.

### **Merchants Interviewed on Chamber of Commerce Elections**

#### **Nabulus Merchants' Views**

91AE0448A Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI  
in Arabic 8 Jun 91 pp 26-28

[Article: "Chamber of Commerce Elections: Timing, Purposes, Implications"]

[Text] Not unexpectedly, views in the ranks of Palestinians of all classes, especially merchants, differ about

holding Chamber of Commerce elections in the West Bank and Gaza. After 24 years of occupation and refusal to allow these elections to be held, the authorities approved them, thereby raising many questions. Why did they approve "the requests of certain merchants," after having given Chamber of Commerce officials a refusal to hold the elections?

The timing is interesting because of its links to the general state of the Palestinian issue and to Israel's insistence on considering the West Bank and Gaza as part of a whole in certain respects and as an Arab concentration in other respects.

The legality of holding elections is a question that deserves some attention. Opinions are divided. Some see the holding of elections as legal and justified. Others see it as pure folly and think that elections without national sovereignty over institutions under occupation are illegal, even if the Jordanian election law is applied.

The procedures and purposes that are taken into consideration by the differing views about the elections touch on the particular and general gains and drawbacks of the process on both the commercial and the national levels.

The common factor in discussions about the West Bank and Gaza elections is their timing and the political linkage imposed by the general situation. On the other hand, the elections will be subject to different laws in the two regions. In Gaza, all the Chambers of Commerce were set up under Egyptian laws and regulations; in the West Bank they were set up under Jordanian laws.

Given its standing interest in issues that affect the public and its effort to cover new developments, AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI believes that it has a responsibility to follow the Chamber of Commerce elections. It will try to reveal the views of certain personalities in order to clarify the real picture and points of view on the elections. This will be done by asking a series of questions that ordinary Palestinians are asking. Their subjects can be summarized as follows:

1. The timing of the elections, the explanation for Israel's eager response to some merchants' demands to hold these elections at a time when the Chambers of Commerce have remained frozen for the past 24 years, and the authorities' stress on the need to hold the elections soon.
2. The purposes that advocates of the elections envision.
3. Possible advantages for merchants and citizens from the elections, and possible negative effects on the general situation.
4. The legality of the elections.

To answer these questions, AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI met with a number of officials in some of the Chambers of Commerce in the West Bank and also solicited the opinions of a number of merchants.

In Nabulus, Mr. Taj-al-Din al-Baytar, director of the Chamber of Commerce, restricted himself to saying that although the legal term of the Chamber of Commerce has ended, under the chairmanship of Mr. Hafiz Tuqan it is fully carrying out all its activities to serve the city's citizens and merchants.

Mr. Sa'id Kan'an, head of the Society of Friends of al-Najah University and a leading merchant of the city, stressed the following points in his response to the questions:

"First, I firmly believe that the purpose of holding Chamber of Commerce elections at the present time and in light of current efforts is part of the campaign to find local alternatives to the PLO. Everyone in the nation rejects this.

"Second, the basic goal is to divert the Palestinian people with secondary battles, to keep them away from the serious proposals and solutions being devised in various places.

"Third, it is to create confusion among our people at a time when they would like to hold elections in their institutions. However, the timing is wrong, so the elections are not an innocent operation."

As for expiration of the legal term of the boards of the existing Chambers of Commerce, Mr. Kan'an added that their term had expired years ago, so that the Chambers had lapsed into a state of complete paralysis. However, the elections they are discussing remain illegal and unacceptable in light of the occupation.

In Hebron, people long familiar with Chamber of Commerce affairs reported that in 1968, after the Israeli occupation, the Chamber's board tried to hold elections after its legal term expired. The request was refused, and the board was frozen. This continued until, to everyone's surprise, the Chamber's officials were summoned to be informed that Israeli officials, on the basis of merchants' wishes embodied in petitions that had been submitted, would work to hold Chamber of Commerce elections just as in other cities. They informed them that the current board had been dissolved. The board has not commented on the elections decree, deferring the question until after the elections are held.

However, activity by merchants in Hebron in the direction of paying their subscription fees, as confirmed by reports that have reached AL-BAYADIR, gives the impression that ordinary merchants in the city are preparing to embark upon the elections. The various candidate slates are expected to be affiliated with a number of political and clan-related organizations.

The clan-related character that dominates the city's social and political activity makes it probable that candidates with a strong clan-related background will win.

As canvassing proceeds by means of family visits and related meetings, many merchants have expressed a desire that the elections not be politicized—that they

should be kept within their true bounds as Chamber of Commerce elections whose winners will concern themselves with facilitating matters for merchants and alleviating their suffering.

Some observers of city affairs relate the election request by certain merchants to various rumors about European economic projects and investments scheduled to be directed to the occupied territories. Other merchants believe that the elections, coming at this political stage in the life of the Palestinian people, are a part of the American and Israeli effort enunciated in the 1989 Shamir initiative for a unilateral application of self-rule, if it became impossible to negotiate with the Arab side, on the ground that these elections might produce representatives of sectors of the people that would participate in the rapid creation of alternatives to the PLO.

Most merchants are cautious about admitting linkage between the political operation and these elections. They argue that the Chambers of Commerce need renewal and an infusion of younger blood into their administrations in order to be able to serve citizens. This, they say, justifies holding the elections.

AL-BAYADIR met with former Deputy Mayor Mustafa 'Abd-al-Nabi al-Natshah, who said:

"As for the Chamber of Commerce elections, the Chamber was virtually nonexistent and ineffective because of the death of some of its members and the passage of about 24 years during which its activities were paralyzed. Therefore, these elections are no different from elections for any other city institutions, such as the Society of University Graduates or the al-Hilal Association. All the noise and talk about the subject led the civilian administration to call for the elections. From one point of view, they could be a thermometer to test the situation in the city."

Mr. al-Natshah thinks that the elections should remain business-related and nonpolitical, as they indeed are. He emphatically rejected any attempt by any party to exploit them for political purposes.

AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI met with Mr. Fathi Khamis al-Ja'bari, an electrical goods dealer. He noted that the date of the elections and their approval by the military government had come in the wake of the results of the Gulf war and after the PLO had been subjected to attack by many parties—international, Arab, and to some extent Palestinian.

One indication of this attack was the purported drop in confidence in the PLO on the part of Palestinian masses inside the country. The authorities are striving to prove this by every possible means.

He went on to say that it was inevitable that the civilian administration would encourage these elections—if one could call them that. They were merely a test to determine where the PLO stood within the territories and the

extent to which those inside the territories supported it. This was to be done by first testing a particular class, the merchants.

Mr. Abu-Khamis indicated that the second goal of the elections was to test the possibility of holding municipal elections at a later date and then working to hold comprehensive elections to implement Shamir's peace plan.

He said that any election procedure naturally had negative and positive aspects. Before one answered the question, one had to consider the election process itself and the candidates and voters. Only then would it be possible to determine the negative and positive aspects. Of course, everyone knew that under the occupation there could be no democracy, nor could there be freedom of action, nomination, and election, nor could one create an aware leadership able to work for the benefit of citizens, be they workers, merchants, or businessmen.

Mr. al-Ja'bari therefore did not see any profound benefits that might result from the elections. If there were any positive aspects, they were superficial and far from the heart of the matter.

In the city of Bethlehem, AL-BAYADIR's correspondent met with Mr. 'Adnan Kazim al-Madhbuh, the proprietor of the 'Adnan Company.

About the timing of the Chamber of Commerce elections, Mr. al-Madhbuh said: "The region is approaching a new period. Corresponding to what is being said about an improvement in people's economic condition, there is talk about an imminent inflow of loans and financial aid from the EEC countries. Thus a reorganization has become necessary for the new situation, so that the Chambers of Commerce and Industry will be headed by people capable of bearing the responsibility of fulfilling their duties. This is also necessary because many changes in Chamber membership have taken place over the long period now ending.

"All these causes have created an atmosphere for Chamber of Commerce elections and room for Chambers of Industry to appear."

As for the goals of the elections, Mr. 'Adnan thinks they are aimed at creating a democratically elected group of citizens able to bear future responsibility for realizing the goals for which the Chambers of Commerce were created, doing so as a group that is trustworthy, sincere, and alert to reality, and whose goal is to serve citizens, apart from any personal interests.

Mentioning the advantages and drawbacks of the elections, he stated that they should increase our solidarity and unity, and should not cause such things as disagreements and clan-related feuds.

He pointed out that Chamber of Commerce membership is not for prestige. It is a commission for serving citizens in our difficult period.

He called for taking positive advantage of the elections and the Chamber of Commerce by choosing the best people and the ones most capable of serving the public interest—those endowed with leadership, honesty, and trustworthiness—so that they could serve citizens in general and merchants in particular.

Mr. Ibrahim al-Far, head of the Ramallah Chamber of Commerce, told AL-BAYADIR the following about the Chamber of Commerce elections: "We did not ask for the elections. We are performing our duty as fully as possible. However, certain parties learned that help would be given to the Chamber of Commerce. They are calling for the elections. We have still not been officially asked to prepare for the elections. I also want to say that my job is humanitarian, rather than commercial or material. I have not received a salary for it. At this time we have not and will not request elections, because the conditions are not ready."

Mr. al-Far said that the demands of the Chamber of Commerce are not being carried out. "There is no export and no solution to the tax problem. Our work is limited to facilitating passport procedures and conferring certificates. Under the circumstances, we can perform no further service following the rejection of many of our requests. This shows that holding the elections involves no new positive aspects."

Mr. Ibrahim al-Far considers the scheduled elections legal, since they should be held every four years in accordance with a request from the General Board. "We have not asked for them to be held. If the government wants it, so be it; but holding or not holding the elections will give the same result."

In view of the conflicting opinions, ideas, and points of view about the scheduled Chamber of Commerce elections, AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI hopes that our merchants will hold deep and serious discussion to avoid any negative effects of the election process and to maintain the unity of our people and their continued devotion to exalted goals and the common good.

### Hebron Merchants' Views

91AE0448B Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI  
in Arabic 8 Jun 91 pp 34-35

[Article by Bassam al-Shuwayki (Al-Amal Bureau of Development Information, Hebron): "Chamber of Commerce Elections in Hebron: Issues, Implications"]

[Text] Hebron's Chamber of Commerce is one of the oldest of its kind in the West Bank and Gaza. It was founded in 1950 to serve merchants and citizens in the field of marketing and pursuing various business issues.

Early in May, Israeli authorities announced that they had dissolved the Chamber's administrative board, headed since 1964 by Hajj Ahmad al-'Uwaywi, and were calling for new elections. The authorities said that petitions signed by Hebron merchants had been sent to the

civilian administration asking that Chamber of Commerce elections be held in Hebron. The Israeli administrative governor stated that the elections would not be limited to the Hebron Chamber of Commerce, but would include all Chambers of Commerce in the West Bank and Gaza.

To explore the matter, we went to those involved in it and informed about it to obtain their opinion about the developments. We met first with Hajj Ahmad al-'Uwaywi, head of the Chamber of Commerce. We began by asking him about the mechanism by which the elections had been requested. He answered:

"As everyone knows, the Chamber's administrative board was summoned before the civilian administration. Its head informed us that on the basis of petitions submitted by merchants from the city, it had been decided to dissolve the old board and call for new elections."

Next, we asked why elections had not been held since 1968, which was the legal date for holding new Chamber of Commerce elections. He replied:

"We in the Chamber of Commerce submitted a request for new elections at the time. However, we were informed that it was impossible to hold them and that they were being frozen."

Concerning the fact that a number of merchants had gone to the civilian administration and asked it to hold elections, Hajj al-'Uwaywi said:

"First of all, we submitted many requests through the Chamber of Commerce to the authorities, but they did not respond. I myself, as head of the Chamber of Commerce, applied for a telephone line many years ago, but my request was rejected. Now we find the authorities responding to the request of 'certain merchants'!"

About the services of Hebron's Chamber of Commerce, as he views them, its head, Hajj Ahmad al-'Uwaywi, replied:

"I can say that the Hebron Chamber of Commerce is the only one of its kind in the West Bank and Gaza that is not deficient. Its services in past years were proceeding well; however, in recent years the Chamber's work was restricted to certifying certain transactions. Recently, even this service stopped, since it was transferred to the Shari'ah courts."

On the timing of the elections, why preparations for them are taking place at this particular time, and whether there are external pressures on the authorities to hold general elections in the occupied territories, beginning at the Chamber of Commerce level, he replied:

"I cannot say anything definite at present. For now, I will say that a statement will be issued shortly after the elections scheduled for mid-June. It will spell things out about many subjects of your questions."

About whether he intended to run for another term, Hajj al-'Uwaywi said:

"I am not running again for the position, nor will I considering doing so. I have already contributed a great deal. I can say that I was one of the founders of the Chamber of Commerce in 1950 and remained its deputy president until 1964. I assumed the presidency after the last elections, which were held in that year."

Next we met with the merchant Ibrahim Rashid Marqah, a member of the Chamber's administrative board. We asked him his opinion of the scheduled elections. He replied:

"Elections were in fact suspended in the late sixties by the authorities. The Chamber had asked for new elections at the time.

"We were recently summoned to the headquarters of the civilian administration, where we were informed that the administrative board had been dissolved and that the intention was to hold Chamber of Commerce elections based on the fact that a number of merchants had taken signed letters to the civilian administration about the matter. We were also informed that the elections would not be limited to Hebron. The intention was to hold them in various cities of the West Bank and Gaza for all the Chambers of Commerce."

Mr. Marqah gave the following evaluation of the work of the Chamber of Commerce during the past years:

"It offered what it could and as much as it could. I can say that what we could not accomplish lay outside our will."

We afterwards went to a number of Hebron merchants to ascertain their opinions, views, and expectations.

We met with Mr. 'Abd-al-Sami' al-Bakri, a clothing and shirt dealer. He said:

"These elections should have been held long ago—years ago—since they are overdue. Nevertheless, they ought to be held, whoever is calling for them. First and last, they serve the merchants and society as a whole. They are not political elections or attempts to create political cadres."

Mr. al-Bakri added: "The elections will be held honestly, if they see participation by merchants and Chamber of Commerce members. We must see to it that they are honest and that we put the right man in the right place. We must always strive for renewal and for fostering the emergence of new elements who will be able to work to serve the public in all our institutions. Furthermore, we must separate these elections from any particular political thinking and must not politicize these institutions"

About the candidates and blocs that have decided to enter the elections, Mr. al-Bakri said:

"Personally, I do not approve of elections based on blocs or clans. They must be honest. The issue is the candidate

himself: What are his abilities and his potentials? To what program is he firmly committed? In this way, I can call him to account for any eventual shortcomings, if he wins the election."

On his view of the Chamber of Commerce in the past and what he expects from it in the future, he said:

"I cannot say it has accomplished anything. Its work has been limited to secondary matters that were of no service to merchants. It should have worked to help merchants in the areas of marketing and the excessive taxes that are imposed. The reality is that it did nothing in this direction.

"As for the future, I hope the picture will change and that the Chamber of Commerce will make an effort to serve merchants and citizens in general."

About whether certain pressures had been brought to bear to hold the elections and their possibly being a prelude to municipal elections, he said:

"It is possible, especially since the region is now witnessing important political developments. It has seen shuttle tours by European ministers and by American Secretary of State James Baker."

We next went to Mr. Ibrahim Khalid al-Natshah, a leather goods dealer, who said:

"As for the mechanics of the work of the offices with us, it is not going as it should. The Chamber of Commerce in turn has not offered anything in its special area or in the area of helping merchants market their goods. It has not helped efforts to reduce the high taxes that are being imposed. It has not intervened to stop practices against merchants.

"I do not think that things will go well in the future, as long as there is no substantial change in the ground rules and procedures that are followed.

"In general, from our point of view we can say that there are ideas and proposals that agree on some points and disagree on others. In fact, this opens the way to reevaluation or to harm and touching the sore spot. It also brings out the achievements that have taken place."

As we conducted this survey, we found that there was a view that called for not involving the elections with matters that might take them into unacceptable areas. This view advocates putting the right man in the right place and holds that there would be nothing in this that would violate the principles that the Palestinian people had approved.

We also found that there was neglect, sometimes to the point of complete disregard, for merchants' concerns and problems on the part of the Chamber of Commerce. In justification, it was said that the Chamber had not been able to perform its appointed role. It had frequently made requests, but had not been answered. We therefore

ask the following question: If this excuse is true, what value is there in the Chamber's existence?

One might reply briefly by saying that the role the Chamber of Commerce ought to have played was too great for the resources that were put at its disposal.

We visited many merchants, asking them to explain their ideas about the Chamber of Commerce. We were surprised when many of them excused themselves. Perhaps they believed that it meant touching on a "forbidden subject." Perhaps they secretly held "incorrect" views about the elections, or perhaps they feared complications some of which involved irrefutable facts that could not be divulged in the media.

In any case, in light of the ongoing debate, what is still happening behind the scenes and in the corridors is much bigger than what is apparent on the surface. Time will doubtlessly remove the veil from many things.

## EGYPT

### Editorial Discusses Changing U.S. View on Regional Arms

91AA0463A Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 12 Jun 91 p 2

[Editorial by Muhammad Sayyid Ahmad]

[Text] To uncover the facts about Washington's position on Israel's nuclear arsenal, it is worth reviewing the broad lines of American diplomacy regarding the Middle East region since the outbreak of the Gulf war. Some facts are confirmed. Others are still forming. Among the confirmed facts is that the United States has, since embarking on the Gulf war, become the unrivaled superpower in the region. The crisis served notice to Washington that the persistence of the state of "no war, no peace" throughout the Middle East, particularly regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict, might include major surprises, such as the Gulf crisis, which touched at the heart of oil interests. Hence, the need to turn to pressing problems in the region, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict, to avoid the outbreak of crises that might become completely uncontrollable.

In view of these facts, American President Bush has put forward two initiatives. The first pertains to reviving the peace process regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict and the search for a formula acceptable to all parties for reaching a contractual peace. The second initiative pertains to arms control and preventing the export of arms to the Middle East.

The fact is that the first initiative has failed, at least so far. American Secretary of State Baker has made four shuttle trips to the region without producing any significant results. President Bush promised that he would visit the Middle East. However, he has yet to come, which is perhaps an indication that the American initiative to settle the Arab-Israeli conflict has failed.

President Bush then announced his second initiative pertaining to arms control. Matters indicate that the second initiative has attracted everyone's attention as the result of the failure of the first initiative. That is to say that, during the Gulf war, Israel was exposed to something to which it had not been subjected before, namely Arab missile strikes against the heart of Israeli territory. Even if we assume that these missiles did not inflict heavy damage on Israel, they nonetheless indicated an important fact, which is that Israel is no longer safe from the danger of Arab missiles, and that "secure borders" for Israel no longer depend solely on its relations with its immediate Arab neighbors, but now depend on ending the hostility between Israel and any country that possesses missiles capable of reaching the territory of Israel! As we know, missile ranges are constantly increasing, which means that there is no alternative to a contractual peace for protecting Israeli security. However, the Israeli Government has so far not seen a need for such a contractual peace. Moreover, it believes that the state of "no peace, no war" best achieves its expansionist and settlement ambitions. Hence, a need has arisen to create a way out to cope with Israel's exposure to Arab missile strikes. Hence, the [arms control] initiative of President Bush.

Shamir has managed to convince the American administration that there is nothing in the current circumstances that induces his government to accept the concessions of the Arab parties, i.e., the fact that many of them are demonstrating an unprecedented willingness for peace with Israel. Therefore, the American administration must realize that Israel's interest requires proceeding slowly in the peace process.

One can imagine that the Shamir government addressed American decisionmakers with the following logic: "You have become extremely powerful in the eyes of all of the Arab capitals, inasmuch as your declared enemy has been defeated or has desisted from his aggression, and friendly capitals are powerless in the face of your decision! Hence, if you are indeed warm friends of Israel, you must prove that by being patient until the course of events produces greater Arab concessions."

It seems that the recent Bush initiative obeys this logic. Or, more precisely, it does what must be done in an environment in which a contractual peace is not expected to be concluded in the foreseeable future, and in which a new development has emerged, which requires America to provide Israel with guarantees against further exposure to Arab missiles! The intent of the American initiative is of course not to require Israel to limit its arms, but the exact opposite. The goal is to protect Israel against any attack to which it might be exposed in the age of missiles and weapons of mass destruction, without requiring it to conclude a contractual peace which is not on its terms!

Therefore, the current proposal is to eliminate dangerous Arab weapons without any consideration at all of Israel's nuclear arsenal. The goal is to prevent Arab parties from

acquiring missiles capable of striking Israel, when Israel is being equipped with Arrow anti-missile missiles, in addition to the Patriot missiles that it has already obtained. This has been reflected in two recent, concurrent developments: Whereas Washington has equipped Israel with many F-15 attack aircraft, and Washington is assuming 75 percent of the costs of Israel's project to produce an anti-missile missile, the American administration has compelled Argentina to abandon the Condor-2 project, in which Argentina has been developing medium-range missiles jointly with a number of Arab countries. Given such circumstances, can it be expected that Washington will compel Israel to relinquish its arsenal of nuclear weapons?

When American Secretary of Defense Cheney was asked about Israel's nuclear arsenal, he evaded the question, stating, as a pretext, that Israel has never declared its possession of nuclear weapons!! The current challenge facing our diplomacy is to compel Washington, not just Tel Aviv, to concede that there is the problem of the elimination of Israel's nuclear arsenal, and that peace cannot be truly established without transforming the region, including all of its states, especially Israel, into a region devoid of weapons of mass destruction.

#### Ghali Comments on OAU Summit Issues

91AA0465A Cairo AKHIR SA'AH in Arabic 12 Jun 91  
pp 8, 9

[Interview with Butrus Ghali, the deputy prime minister for foreign affairs, in Cairo; date not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] AKHIR SA'AH began the interview with Dr. Butrus Ghali, the deputy prime minister for foreign affairs, after his return to Cairo, with this question:

[AKHIR SA'AH] The African OAU summit has concluded its proceedings in the new Nigerian capital, Abuja. What is your appraisal of the proceedings of the summit and the circumstances of its convocation?

[Ghali] First, I want to indicate that the Abuja summit was held in an important, regional, international atmosphere, which added special importance to it. Leaders throughout the African continent have had to assume their responsibilities in confronting focuses of tension and conflict and armed confrontations, which have escalated violently in numerous parts of Africa, including Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Rwanda, Uganda, Senegal, Mauritania, South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, and other African countries.

In addition to military confrontations, severe natural circumstances—desertification and drought—have added additional burdens to the continent's economies, which are already burdened by chronic indebtedness problems and the like. According to the latest statistics, in 1991, the lives of 30 million Africans are threatened by the dangers famine, homelessness, and a shortage of food.

Amid these regional challenges and difficult political and economic circumstances, another challenge is being posed by the formulation of a new international order. Africa must seek to play an active role in formulating this new order to preserve its causes and the status that it deserves, and to deflect the danger of being marginalized in the international arena.

Amid all of these regional and international changes, the African summit convened its proceedings, because of the emergence of its own importance, and its need to meet many of the above-mentioned challenges, internationally and in Africa.

Realizing the current dangers, many African leaders participated in the Abuja summit, including 22 heads of state and four prime ministers, which is a reflection of African awareness and realization of the importance of this summit, its timing, and the problems raised for discussion. [passage omitted]

#### **The Position on South Africa**

[AKHIR SA'AH] The Abuja summit was expected to result in a unified African position on contact with South Africa and on the boycott imposed on South Africa, which was to have been formulated in light of reforms in South Africa over the past two years. What were the results of the Abuja discussions in this regard?

[Ghali] There was complete agreement that the reforms announced by President de Klerk in 1991 and 1992 constitute an essential change which Africa must take into account in formulating its position on South Africa, and in reconciling, within this position, the need to encourage de Klerk and help him proceed in his reform program with the call being made by some African countries and organizations opposed to apartheid in South Africa to maintain the boycott to pressure the government in South Africa to enact further reforms, until apartheid is completely eliminated.

Indications before the summit pointed to the presence of a general African trend toward adopting an objective, unified position regarding sanctions and the future of African relations with South Africa. Nigeria led this trend. [passage omitted]

[AKHIR SA'AH] However, the African and international trend is to establish contacts with South Africa. Is the Abuja summit's decision to move in the opposite direction—toward exerting pressure—a reflection of a general African attitude? Or is it driven by the view of the confrontation states?

[Ghali] During the meetings that I held in connection with the summit, many leaders and prime ministers expressed to me their dissatisfaction with the African confrontation states' monopolization of the process of establishing contacts with South Africa and the danger which that monopolization poses to the other African countries.

That was voiced clearly in the dissatisfaction expressed by African leaders with the continuation of conflicts between national organizations inside South Africa. They believe that these conflicts are impeding the rapid elimination of apartheid. Also, many delegations indicated the importance of starting a dialogue with all African national organizations in the interior and white anti-apartheid groups. However, it should also be noted that possibilities of the beginning of political, economic, and commercial relations between South Africa and many African countries are continually increasing. It is no secret that at least five African countries are expected to establish diplomatic ties with South Africa.

#### **Egypt's Role Regarding the South**

[AKHIR SA'AH] What about Egypt's position on contact with South Africa? Is Egypt—a leading African country—waiting for someone else to recognize South Africa without imposing its weight to hasten the end of apartheid and a reconciliation between black national forces?

[Ghali] There is no doubt that Egypt has a leading role, as you stated, in hastening the end of apartheid. Egypt participated in effectively supporting the struggle of the people of South Africa. It played an important role in mediating between the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress [al-mu'atamar al-Ifriqi al-Jami']. The important role which Egypt has played in ensuring the release of Nelson Mandela is clear to everyone.

In keeping with the reform developments in South Africa and the exigencies of reality, Egypt must now prepare to focus on some aspects of consultation with South Africa. Also, it is important to make the decision to start contacts at an appropriate time and in a desirable manner to avoid having the opposite effect. Egypt has a distinguished role. Its start of relations or contacts will have a major impact on the African and international arena. Hence, we are acting with awareness and sensitivity, without being bound by fears and one-upmanship. Our goal is the African interest. Even if we were to currently go along with the African consensus, as represented in the position on South Africa adopted by the Abuja summit, we would hope that the OAU's position on South Africa would not be at odds with the reality of African countries outdoing each other in their open and secret contacts in various fields with South Africa, so that our general organization can continue to enjoy credibility. For example, we deem de Klerk's visit on 9 June 1991 to Kenya, immediately after the summit, a clear indication of an unstoppable trend toward the establishment of relations between Africa and South Africa. I hope that President de Klerk's government will maintain its positive position which has taken shape during the past two years and will respond to the remaining demands of the black national forces to establish a society of freedom, democracy, and equality in South Africa.

[AKHIR SA'AH] Nigeria's role in Africa has been enhanced by its intervention to solve the Liberian problem. Nigeria now holds the OAU chairmanship, and the latest African summit was held in its capital. What are the dimensions of Nigeria's role?

[Ghali] Nigeria is among the largest African countries and the richest in human and material resources. These characteristics give it natural weight in Africa in general and in western Africa in particular. We hope that Nigerian diplomacy will use its extensive abilities in the service of African issues, whether economic or political. There is no doubt that Nigeria's positive role in Liberia, based on the support of the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] organization, helped considerably to stop the military operations there. We hope that Egyptian-Nigerian cooperation will continue, in both countries' capacity as leading states in Africa, to cope with the continent's problems, solve its disputes, and raise its problems at the international level.

#### **The African Economic Group**

[AKHIR SA'AH] During the Abuja summit, an agreement was signed to establish the African Economic Group. What are the dimensions of this matter? What is this agreement's importance, and what is its effect on Egypt in particular and on Africa in general?

[Ghali] The ceremonies surrounding the signing of the agreement to establish the African Economic Group lent special importance to the Abuja summit, because the agreement represents a historical turning point that is equal in importance to the signing of the charter to establish the OAU.

The agreement to establish the African Economic Group represents the cornerstone of Africa's future and support of its efforts to promote economic development in the framework of mutual self-reliance. The world is approaching a phase of large economic blocs. Africa will be able to face these blocs only through its unification in the framework of collective action represented in this agreement. [passage omitted]

I would like to emphasize that, during the proceedings of the Abuja summit, an extremely positive trend emerged. This trend underscores Africa's ability to overcome its economic problems, and it shows that Africa's problems are solvable and that Africa has the abilities to overcome these problems. The head of the World Bank, in his speech before the summit, expressed this optimistic view regarding Africa's future.

#### **Peace in Ethiopia and Somalia**

[AKHIR SA'AH] What is your opinion on the separatist struggle movements in Somalia and Ethiopia? What is Egypt's position on them?

[Ghali] Egypt's basic position is [in favor of] the maintenance of the integrity of territories and the independence of all African countries. However, if there appear

on the horizon possibilities of the leaders of the separatist movements reaching a modus vivendi with the mother government, Egypt is not expected in that case to be more kingly than the king.

Based on this basic position, Egyptian diplomacy aims basically to achieve peace and resolve conflicts peacefully, with the goal of consolidating energies to serve development issues, instead of the dangers of fragmentation, confrontations, and divisions, which have afflicted Africa with successive disasters and catastrophes, which the peoples of Africa are paying for.

This aware, Egyptian position is based on an understanding of the special nature of the African social structure, in which the makeup of any African state is an aggregate and a mixture of races, cultures, and different languages. If each one is allowed free reign, limited national conflicts would escalate into wars, divisions, and unprecedented disintegration.

Egypt is sparing no effort requested of it to achieve peace in Somalia, Sudan, and Ethiopia. Egypt is always willing to make an effort. We continue to pursue, in cooperation with Italy, the convocation of a national peace conference between the different groups fighting each other.

I am spurred on by the great hope that our brothers in Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan will realize that mutual understanding, negotiations, and regional unity will enable their countries to tackle the challenge of development and achieve a status that will win them the world's respect and admiration. Perhaps the most outstanding example of the correctness of this orientation is the recent achievement in Angola. [passage omitted]

[AKHIR SA'AH] What is the Egyptian delegation's role in making the Abuja summit a success? What are the results of the contacts that you held at the summit?

[Ghali] The summit was a good opportunity to hold numerous contacts and meetings with African heads of state and prime ministers. I conveyed the greetings of President Husni Mubarak to his African brothers. I clearly sensed the extent of the appreciation which all harbor for Egypt's leadership role and its wise leader. It became clear, from the outcome of my consultations, that there is general African acceptance of the role that Egyptian diplomacy can play to contain African conflicts. As I indicated, the resolution that was issued regarding Somalia contains praise of Egypt's constructive role in containing the situation in fraternal Somalia.

I and the members of the Egyptian delegation helped to contain a number of disagreements that arose during summit discussions. For example, when the situation between Rwanda and Uganda came to a head, the efforts which I undertook along with a number of delegations resulted in the conference's acceptance of the formula proposed by President Mobutu regarding the convocation of a scaled-down summit for the members of the

Committee of Seven concerned with the settlement of African conflicts to discuss the dispute between the two countries.

In the context of Egyptian concern for economic issues in Africa, the summit resulted in the issuance of a statement drafted by the Egyptian delegation on "African Participation in the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations Under GATT Auspices." This statement is a message that is directed to the countries of the world regarding the need to take African interests into account when establishing the new international order. [passage omitted]

[AKHIR SA'AH] To conclude, were there any new developments on the Abuja summit's agenda regarding the Middle East and the Palestinian problem?

[Ghali] The Abuja summit expressed traditional African support for the Arab/Palestinian position. A discussion was held on the Middle East point and the Palestinian problem. In record time, these issues were discussed and decided, and draft resolutions pertaining to them were approved.

Mr. Yasir 'Arafat attended this summit and held discussions with the African heads of state. The summit coincided with Israeli air raids against Sidon, which attracted the concern of the African brothers to the Palestinian problem once more. [passage omitted]

### Report Says Ghali Running Israeli, African Affairs

91P40364A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
19 Jun 91 p 9

[Excerpt] It has been decided that Egyptian Deputy Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali will be responsible for following Egyptian-African and Egyptian-Israeli relations within the framework of allocating responsibilities between him and Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa. Dr. Ghali carried out these responsibilities when he headed the Egyptian delegation to the African summit in the new Nigerian capital of Abuja after returning from meeting Israeli Ambassador in Cairo Efrayim Dowek. [passage omitted]

### Musa Expresses Views on Emergency Law, Torture, Extremists

91AA0474A Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic 9 Jun 91  
pp 11-13

[Interview with Interior Minister Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa by Ahmad Mustafa in Cairo; date not given: "Those Who Tortured Citizens in the Past Talk Today About Human Rights!"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted]

[Mustafa] Is there a danger to Egypt from organized and group crime?

[Musa] [passage omitted] As for the existence of danger to Egypt from organized and group crime, I would say that by God's grace and the vigilance of the police, terrorist organizations were unable to penetrate Egyptian security during the period of the Gulf war, although they tried more than once. The groups that came to carry out provocations and sabotage were apprehended. However, if the police are not present, or if there is no serious follow-up, they could constitute a danger to Egypt and its security.

### Opposing Extremist Groups

[Mustafa] Is there no real remedy for the problem of extremist groups? Is what is happening now merely dosing with tranquilizers, while these groups secretly grow stronger?

[Musa] I have said and proclaimed on many previous occasions that the extremism problem is not merely a security problem. It isn't a problem for the Interior Ministry alone.

The extremism problem involves embracing wrong thinking. Unfortunately, religion and doctrine are used to propagate this thinking. I say clearly and frankly that the primary responsibility for opposing these extremist ideas lies with thinkers and preachers—to correct this mistaken thinking on the part of those who call people to extremist ideas, and to immunize the thinking of young people who embrace such thinking. Let the police be the last resort to confront the deviant or violent acts that the promoters of this thinking commit, whether by rebelling against legitimate authority or against the law by murder, assault, theft, and bloodshed.

[Mustafa] Doubtlessly, the burdens on the Interior Ministry's police apparatus are increasing. In addition, there is the broad sector of services, such as traffic control, the fire department, public utilities, and many other services. Isn't it necessary to review the realistic needs for the role of these sectors in light of the increase of desired objectives?

[Musa] Police services must of course keep up with the constant population increase, as well as with the continuous growth of cities, which contain new concentrations of people, especially haphazard concentrations that develop without planning and lacking oversight and all the relevant agencies.

I state the following truth not because I am a member of the government and jointly responsible with its other agencies. The government is not slow to provide the necessary sums to deal with police services. The inadequacy of some of these services may be because much of the manpower needed to volunteer to serve in the police is disinclined. This is the one weakness from which we now suffer. [passage omitted]

### **Egyptian or American Investigation Agencies?**

[Mustafa] How do you rank the National Security Investigation Agency and the Central Criminal Investigation Agency in Egypt against similar agencies in America and some European countries?

[Musa] A group of FBI agents arrived in Cairo last week to discuss the coming of a group of officers to train Egyptian investigation officers and other police officer trainees from African countries. The site of the training course is to be here in Cairo. During the conversation, I felt that the coming of the FBI agents signified a gift on their part. However, I quickly realized that although the visitors from this huge agency, which we hold in high esteem, were going to conduct a training course, they were at the same time going to benefit from the expertise and information of the Egyptian agencies whose efficiency and ability are acknowledged throughout the world. The members of the group who were talking with us readily acknowledged the truth of this view and the seriousness of the proposition.

I am not saying this out of a vacuum. The world from east to west attests to the expertise and efficiency that mark the performance of the Egyptian police and marvels at the reason for this—the inadequacy of advanced scientific apparatus, which forces the Egyptian investigator to use his mind, which has invented these advanced devices.

[Mustafa] I once heard you describe the Emergency Law as "quick first aid." What is your philosophy about it? Why did you give it that name?

[Musa] I tell you, sir, that when I went to the People's Assembly to deliver the statement asking for an extension of the Emergency Law for another period, my first words in the statement were that I would rather have come to that dignified Assembly to deliver a request to end application of the emergency law. However, the circumstances the country is experiencing at this time make it necessary to request an extension of the law for another period. Specifically, there are the crimes of violence and terrorism that have taken place in the country during the past year or so, beginning with the assassination of Dr. Rif'at al-Mahjub, the former head of the People's Assembly. Then there were armed burglaries of several goldsmith's shops in broad daylight using automatic weapons. All these events require the existence of a measure to assist the police. Everyone knows that because of the large population and high birth rate, court cases in our country are not decided as quickly as they should be. This makes arriving at the truth a slow process and nullifies the deterrent effect of the criminal's conviction.

Thus, the emergency law can be considered a temporary weapon to assist the police in dealing with violent acts. The last word on the subject is that this emergency measure is a law passed by a legislative authority that represents the people who will be benefitted by the protection of security and society.

### **Human Rights Organization**

[Mustafa] The Human Rights Organization in Egypt has attacked how the police deal with prisoners and other accused persons in certain cases. What is your defense or your opinion about the matter? Is it true that some prisoners have been tortured?

[Musa] I want to tell citizens that, sadly, the very person who is now attacking the police in Egypt and claiming or alleging that human rights are violated in Egypt by alleged torture of prisoners or detainees—this person was himself a principal pillar in the practice of violating all human rights during a certain period of Egypt's government.

If there is anyone who can talk about human rights, it is someone who tasted injustice, despotism, and cruelty, who was dismissed from his job, imprisoned, and tortured—and I am that person.

I was dismissed from my job when I was a police officer with the rank of major. I was about 32 years old at the time. That was not all. I was imprisoned, tortured, and rendered homeless. All I had done was to stand beside people who had been wronged and coerced. Someone who has tasted dismissal from work, homelessness in the streets, imprisonment, deprivation, and separation from friends can never be an unjust person who holds the whip to scourge the backs of innocent people as used to happen at one time in the past.

Also, I consider myself a person who knows God as he ought to be known. Someone who knows God well does not oppress people, and he fears no tyranny or force.

### **Post of Interior Minister**

[Mustafa] At the end of my conversation, I asked Interior Minister Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Musa: How do you view the post of interior minister that you occupy? From the point of view of this post, how do you see people?

[Musa] My occupying the post of interior minister is a destiny for which I praise God. I give thanks to God, but at the same time I say that if this is my destiny, I pray that the Lord will help me bear it and that I may be well regarded by all citizens and by our leaders who decided that I should occupy this post.

As for how I see people from my point of view in this post, I tell you that I look on people as I used to look on them while holding any other positions I have held—in the investigation department of the Ministry of Supply, in the investigation department of the tax bureau, as director of public security, or as governor of Asyut. For me, all citizens are brothers. My friends are those who are in the right, not those who want to violate the right. By God, I do not want God-fearing people to be wronged.

**Parliament To Act Against Members in Drug Accusations***91AA0457B Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Jun 91 p 2*

[Article: "Not Only Drug Merchants, But Also Market Owners"]

[Excerpt] At a time in which the People's Assembly is ready to decide the fate of the membership of four deputies involved in narcotics, Dr. Fathi Surur, speaker of the People's Assembly, told AL-SHA'B that he had asked Major General 'Abd al-Halim Musa, the minister of interior, to provide the People's Assembly with all statements, documents, and files concerning AL-SHA'B's reports about the involvement of nine members of the Assembly in dealing with narcotics.

Dr. Fathi Surur stressed that, if the charges that those deputies trafficked in narcotics were proved, then legal measures would be taken against them.

On the other hand, official sources in the Ministry of Interior confirmed that the Anti-Narcotics Bureau had sent copies of the files of those accused, supported by documentation, to the minister of interior, Maj. Gen. 'Abd al-Halim Musa, preparatory to sending them to the People's Assembly.

In previous editions, AL-SHA'B has published dossiers of drug dealers in the People's Assembly, and has exposed the extremely serious charges against those who must be brought to trial and dismissed from office, headed by senior officials in the National Democratic Party [NDP], who elected deputies to represent them. The People's Assembly was used as a cover for dealing in narcotics. The Advisory Council has previously had members accused, without making any rebuttal! Moreover, the quarters responsible for granting medals of distinction and decorations do so without making certain that there is nothing suspicious about the member. There are also Ministry of Interior agencies that accuse members of being involved in narcotics, while agencies of that same Ministry grant them licenses for weapons! AL-SHA'B confronted the drug dealers, led by 'Ayid Sulayman, and then confronted officials of the Anti-Narcotics Bureau, where they confirmed that the NDP gives its members protection and immunity, so long as they fulfill the party's demands for obedience.

AL-SHA'B then sought out the views of lawyers, who confirmed that the NDP's nomination of dubious characters is considered corrupt, and demands that they be tried on charges of collusion with drug dealers, and with giving them the cover of parliamentary immunity. The lawyers confirmed the need to increase the number of reputable members of the People's Assembly. Before they become involved, or rather, before they are arrested and sentenced, they must be stripped of their People's Assembly membership, because they have undertaken illegal actions.

However, it is unfortunate that drug dealers are not the only ones who sneak into the People's Assembly. On the contrary, they have been accompanied by large numbers of persons with prior convictions, and thieves, whom the NDP has shamelessly nominated. [passage omitted]

**NDP, Opposition Relations Seen Improving in Assembly***91AA0457C London AL-SHA'B in Arabic 14 Jun 91 p 2*

[Article: "New Means of Exercising Democracy in Egypt"]

[Text] Egyptian parliamentary circles confirm that a new change has unexpectedly occurred in representational activities in the Egyptian Parliament on both sides; the opposition, which is composed of one party, the leftist National Progressive Unionist Grouping [NPUG], with only six delegates, led by party chief Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, and independents, who represent most of the political orientations in Parliament; and, on the other side, the parliamentary deputies from the ruling National Democratic Party [NDP].

The activities of the past six months in the Egyptian Parliament have confirmed an increase in the size of democratic applications, as a natural fallout from the recent parliamentary elections, held in November 1990.

The most prominent change is that, despite an announcement, the friendly alliance has not yet been achieved, legally or officially, between the NPUG's parliamentary bloc on the one hand, and the independent wing, which forms a considerable proportion, but which has no coordination on positions among its members, on the other. Observers attribute that to fundamental differences in the nature of political applications in Parliament. It has become clear, through recent sessions, that the NPUG, led by Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, is practicing quiet opposition, in contrast to the parliamentary activities pursued by members without party affiliations. These observers believe that there is a clear superiority on the part of the independents, who have been able—in their words—to lead in more than one successful round of interpellation, questions, and requests for information, all of which constitutes the bases of parliamentary control over the government's actions.

With regard to the ruling NDP, observers say that there is more than one reason for the NDP deputies' loss of coordination, which had been firmly established over the last three parliaments. The observers prove this thesis by the presence of more than one deputy forming a strong, opposition front, whose influence is superior to the role of other independents in Parliament, who are not affiliated with any political party. That is considered tantamount to an alternative to the opposition parties, who lost their seats in Parliament in the recent elections.

Moreover, parliamentary practices have become marked, more than at any time in the past, by coordination of positions between the opposition and members of the ruling party. Both groups are trying to achieve a new round in the interests of the Egyptian citizen, who has begun to feel his responsibility, the part that he bears as a practical cost in the course of economic reform.

### **Parliament Urges More Government Defense Spending**

91AA0484C London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
10 Jun 91 p 2

[Article: "Egyptian Parliament Advises Government to Invest in Military Industries Development"]

[Text] The Egyptian Parliamentary Defense and National Security Committee stressed the need to provide the necessary investments to develop the Egyptian military industries to keep pace with advancements in arms technologies used in the recent Gulf war and to finance such investments from the public treasury, and not through borrowing because the armed forces cannot support the interest on such loans.

The committee advised the government to take stock of the production capabilities that are available for current military projects and future armed services needs and to maintain those that are nationally and strategically essential to Egyptian national security. It also recommended that the government step in to help correct the economic and financial course of military production companies.

The committee praised the government's trend since 1982 not to sign any new military loans for arms purchases, relying on foreign grants, the annual American grant in particular, while giving precedence to military investments and providing the foreign currency needed to meet the armed forces' emergency requirements.

### **Liberal Party Mediating Between MB, Islamic Groups**

91AA0484A Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Jun 91 p 6

[Article: "Conciliation Between Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Groups"]

[Text] Mustafa Kamil Murad, head of the Liberal Party, and Sami Anis Luga, supervisor of the Upper Egyptian governorates, issued instructions to the Liberal Party leadership in Minya to move quickly to forge a conciliation between the Muslim Brotherhood [MB] and the Islamic groups in al-Maghaghah on the basis of the recent events that occurred between them that were reported in the official newspapers. Based on these instructions, the governorate committee coordinated with the al-Maghaghah district committee to step up their efforts to unify the ranks and patch things up. The committee, which is chaired by the governorate's secretary, Eng. 'Azzam 'Abd-al-'Azim, and composed of

Majaj Ahmad Mahmud, secretary of the northern region, and 'Abd-al-'Aziz Ahmad, secretary of the al-Maghaghah committee and the organization committee in al-Maghaghah, agreed to convene a preliminary meeting between MB and Islamic group leaders during which the two sides laid the groundwork for future action and agreed to make peace.

### **Brotherhood Issues Statement on Gulf Conflict**

91AA0456C Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Jun 91 p 9

[Article by Muhammad Hamid Abu-al-Nasr: "Muslim Brotherhood Communique: The Gulf War and Its Impact on Islamic Nation"]

[Text] God Almighty said: "And hold fast all together by the rope which God (stretches for you), and be not divided among yourselves" [Koran, 3:103].

We thank You God for uniting our hearts around Your call, for filling our souls with love for You and every Muslim, and for bringing us together as brothers under the bond of brotherly faith. We ask you God to perpetuate this brotherhood and to heighten this love until we meet You.

Our nation has been subjected to a shocking catastrophe and terrible ordeal, and has been through much suffering and agonizing pain, only because it strayed from God's path and failed to abide by His commands and to be rightly guided by His ways. God Almighty said: "Who-soever follows my guidance, will not lose his way, nor fall into misery. But whosoever turns away from my message, verily for him is a life narrowed down" [Koran, 20:123-124].

Events in the Gulf make it incumbent upon us to study and analyze the Gulf war to draw lessons and examples from it.

The Muslim Brotherhood (MB) has stated its position on the Gulf crisis clearly and has asked MB officials around the world to comply with and abide by it. This position may be summed up as follows:

1. Iraq's occupation of Kuwait is an act of aggression and injustice that the MB condemns, and demands that it be brought to an end.
2. Calling in crusader forces from America, Great Britain, France, and other countries to occupy the peninsula and Gulf by land, sea, and air is unacceptable to the MB.
3. Iraq must withdraw from Kuwaiti territory, and the people of Kuwait must be allowed to determine their country's fate.
4. The invading crusader forces must be kicked out of the peninsula and the Gulf.

5. In order to reach a peaceful solution to the Iraq-Kuwait conflict, foreign troops must be replaced with Arab and Islamic forces.

To that end, the MB formed a delegation comprised of MB and Islamic movement members, but this delegation didn't achieve its goal of fending off a vicious war in the area.

### Gulf War Aftermath

This war has had a painful impact on the region's present and future well-being that we sum up as follows:

1. This war has claimed hundreds of thousands of casualties between killed and wounded.
2. It has cost the nation hundreds of billions of dollars.
3. Oil resources in Kuwait have been destroyed and wasted.
4. Iraq and Kuwait have been ruined militarily, economically, and socially.
5. Iraq has been and still is being subjected to various attempts to fragment or partition it.
6. Besides conflicts and disagreements among rulers, it has created feuds and alienation among the people of the region.
7. Colonialism has regained its total control over the region.
8. Colonialist crusader forces have remained in the peninsula, the Gulf, and Iraq even though Iraqi troops have pulled out of Kuwait.
9. Attempts are being made to conspire against and liquidate the Palestinian cause.
10. The Jewish state on the land of Palestinians is the main beneficiary, financially, militarily, and psychologically.
11. Enemy machinations and conspiracies to undermine, maligne, and harass the Islamic movement have come to the surface.

### MB Mission in Upcoming Stage

The MB everywhere is required to make assiduous efforts at the national level to achieve the following:

1. Resist colonialist influence, represented in America and its allies in the region, and work toward getting them out because the only justification for their presence is aggression, hegemony, the humiliation of the peoples of the region, and the usurpation of their national wealth.
2. Mobilize the masses to demand the application of the Islamic shari'ah in everyday life and step up their efforts until this holy goal is achieved.

3. Expose the autocratic regimes because their suppression of the will of individuals and peoples is the main culprit in the nation's incessant crimes, including the Kuwait-Iraq disaster.

4. Demand vigorously and earnestly the release of general liberties and preservation of human rights.

5. Caution the nation against being driven by despotic rulers even if they raise Islamic slogans while they do not abide by them in their rule and personal life.

6. Make efforts to unify the nation and rally it around Islam as a doctrine, a shari'ah, and a way of life. Oppose anti-Islam tendencies and expose their danger to this nation's future and destiny.

7. The winds of surrender are blowing over the region to liquidate the Palestinian cause by calling for the implementation of Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, providing for the relinquishing of 77 percent of Palestinian land and negotiation with the Jews over the remaining 23 percent. Negotiations may lead to autonomy, which means that all Palestinian land would belong to the Jews, and West Bank and Gaza Strip inhabitants would have self-rule while living on the land of others.

This trend by the ruling regimes in the Arab countries and elsewhere calls for efforts by all our brothers to expose the danger to their region, their faith, and Jerusalem. It also enjoins them to reject that and stand up to all those who advocate such surrender and submission.

8. There is an attempt to break the psychological barrier against the crusader presence, represented by America and its allies, so that people may accept and approve of this colonialist presence, thus making it possible for the invading armies to remain in the area and set up bases. We must incite the nation to reject these invaders and strengthen the psychological barrier to stoke the fire of hatred and hostility toward all despots.

Dear Brothers:

We must rebuild our domestic ranks on doctrinal values and Islamic concepts so that we may strengthen our relationship with the Book of God in terms of recital, mediation, comprehension, memorization, and action. Furthermore, we must learn from these events a highly important lesson, namely, to commit ourselves to a position and abide by it and hold accountable anyone who deviates from it in the future. We must also hasten to dress the wounds of our brothers in Kuwait, Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, and every wounded Islamic nation.

Dear Brothers:

Let us raise our hands in supplication and let us praise and glorify the Lord Who has favored us with Islam and guided us to the Faith. Let us forgive one another and let

the brothers forgive and overlook so that God will forgive them: "Do you not wish that God should forgive you?" [Koran, 24:22].

"Our Lord! Let not our hearts deviate now after Thou has guided us, but grant us mercy from Thine own presence; for Thou art the grantor of bounties without measure" [Koran, 3:8].

"Our Lord! forgive us our sins and anything we may have done that transgressed our duty! Establish our feet firmly and help us against those that resist faith" [Koran, 3:147].

### **Court Rules Legality for Egyptian Arab Party**

91AA0457A Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Jun 91 p 3

[Article: "Court Rules Legality of Egyptian Arab Party"]

[Text] The Cairo Court of Appeals (23rd District), presided over by Justice Hasan Muhammad Munaysi, with Justices Ahmad Majid Fu'ad and Jamil Qadis Haythiyat in attendance, recently issued its judgment dated 24 April 1991, on the legality of the Egyptian Arab Party, and the accuracy of describing Jamal Rubay' as its leader, in an appeals case brought against the leader of the National Democratic Party [NDP], and in opposition to the chairman of the Advisory Council, in his capacity as chairman of the Committee on Political Party Affairs. The government had acted to impose a media blackout on this report, inasmuch as none of the national newspapers have referred to it.

The court decided to reject the ruling party's plea, as an invalid appeal, to terminate the identity of the Egyptian Arab Socialist Party, after its incorporation into the NDP in accordance with a resolution issued by its political office. This decision was based on the fact that this resolution—the challenge is basically to its accuracy—was issued by a nonconcerned quarter, since the decision to dissolve specifies that it must be issued by the party's general conference, in accordance with its bylaws.

The court rejected a second plea on grounds of lack of permissibility of the plaintiff's view of a previous judgment, because it sets as a condition for that an actual or judicial union of opposing parties. The first lawsuit was appealed by Jamal Rubay' in his capacity as assistant secretary general of the party, while representing the party as its chief, which is the new capacity being appealed in this case.

The court also rejected a third plea, on grounds that it was unacceptable for appeal, as having no capacity, inasmuch as the election of Jamal Rubay'—as party chief—was done by actions that cannot be appealed by the appellees. Accordingly, he has the capacity to represent the party, in accordance with the Law of Political Parties.

Therefore, the court ruled in a judgment that must be enforced, even if the appeal were to be overturned, on

the legality of the Egyptian Arab Party, and Jamal Rubay's leadership of that party. Stopping its enforcement would only be permitted by order of the jurisdiction pertaining to that in the Court of Cassation, which would only rule in cases in which there was a fear that implementation would cause an injury that could not be remedied or corrected, and that does not pertain in this case.

As for the request to force the NDP to turn over the headquarters buildings that it illegally seized, the court appointed a committee of three senior experts from the Ministry of Justice, to go to these headquarters, and ascertain who has taken them over and with what authority. The committee is to submit its report before the 22 October 1991 session. This will not prevent the Egyptian Arab Party from possibly pursuing its activities in its temporary headquarters or headquarters buildings, until the court issues its ruling concerning party headquarters, funds, and property.

This is a ruling that proves that Egypt can boast of an independent judicial system, and that the NDP must respect it and carry out its demands, so as to prove that government in Egypt is based on the sovereignty of law, and respect for the judgments of the court.

### **'Egypt Party' Begins Reforming**

91AA0472B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 22 Jun 91 p 4

[Text] Cairo—The leaders of the Egypt Party, which is resuming its activity based on a new judicial ruling, have begun to prepare for action on the Egyptian political scene, despite the party's transformation from a majority party into an opposition party, which is unprecedented in Egypt's modern political history.

The Egypt Party was established in the seventies as a ruling party under the leadership of Mamduh Salim, Egypt's former prime minister. Party chairman Jamal Rabi' told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the issuance of this judicial ruling in favor of the Egypt Party regarding its resumption of legal activity, represents a basic element of the impartiality of the Egyptian judiciary. The ruling affirms the party's entitlement to all of its headquarters, funds, and the MISR [Egypt] newspaper, which ceased being published. These headquarters were transferred to the ruling National Democratic Party [NDP] after it was formed during the tenure of the late President Anwar al-Sadat. Rabi' added that the Egypt Party will pursue, through friendly and official means, the reclamation of these headquarters, while also preparing to resume publication of the MISR newspaper, which bears its former name, in the second half of 1991. Rabi' stated that the judicial ruling emphasized the absence of any decision to merge the Egypt Party with the NDP. In his statements, Rabi' indicated that the party will reform its bureau, general secretariat, and its secretariats in the governorates; enter its first official, parliamentary elections, when the semi-renewal of the Egyptian Consultative Council is conducted next year; and prepare to enter

the next elections for the local people's councils. Jamal Rabi' emphasized that he has not held any contacts with leaders of the ruling NDP following the issuance of the Egyptian judiciary's ruling. Pointing to deputies who had won as independents after not being nominated by the party, but who then joined the ruling NDP, he expressed his belief that a number of current NDP deputies in Egypt's parliament will join the Egypt Party. Rabi' stated that the returning party's policy will not lead to any change in its orientations. The party will pursue a middle course regarding the exercise of democracy and will represent neither the extreme left nor the extreme right. He indicated that the returning party will perpetuate the memory of its founders, the foremost being Mamduh Salim.

### Officials Comment on Arab Future

91AA0472A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
23 Jun 91 p 4

[Text] Cairo—When the Arab region is witnessing successive events and enormous new developments, all of which concern the frameworks for achieving international political and economic legitimacy to consummate the positive stage being experienced by international society regarding its initiative to liberate Kuwait and restore its legitimacy, there is Arab contemplation concerning the foundations and clear definition of this legitimacy.

Politicians in Egypt have their own thinking on these concepts. AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT met with a group of them to elicit their views and outlooks on the future.

Dr. Muhammad 'Abdallah, the chairman of the foreign relations committee in the Egyptian People's Assembly spoke first. He emphasized that this contemplation, which is the focus of discussion and the intense consultations being seen by the Arab nation and other countries, is not the product of only the recent Gulf crisis, although that crisis is a main reason for it, because the crisis manifested a negative aspect to be avoided, inasmuch as conditions can be stabilized only through a comprehensive, just peace throughout the region. 'Abdallah advocated reviewing methods that can enable us to participate in restoring Arab solidarity based on a comprehensive theory of Arab interests, and at the same time generate comprehensive Arab development.

Dr. Mufid Shahab, the chairman of the Arab, foreign, and national security affairs committee in the Egyptian Consultative Council, emphasized that the lessons of the Iraqi invasion must be an impetus to review, develop, and change existing relations. Political will, not stipulations, can produce an integrated Arab system in the framework of friendly Arab intentions, through which this crisis can be transcended.

He stated that Egypt has special responsibilities toward the Arab nation in war and peace, which cannot be infringed on. Hence, the call to decisively confront the division between Arab governments and peoples.

Dr. Shahab emphasized the importance of the Arab League's future role, indicating Egypt's desire to promote and stimulate joint Arab action through the Arab League and its organizations. He stated that the Gulf crisis facilitated the aspiration to reorganize the Arab world at its different levels.

Major General Ahmad Rushdi, a former Egyptian interior minister, believes that the Gulf crisis has raised Arab issues again on an all-encompassing level. He emphasized that, despite what happened, the Arab nation undoubtedly affirms, and is resolved on, the unity of Iraq and the integrity of its territories in the face of any danger that threatens its division. He stressed that the fraternal Iraqi people should not have to bear the mistakes of its leadership.

Dr. Kamal Abu-al-Majd stated that the dressing of the Arab wounds must be based on the unity of the Arab leaders and the Arab peoples, and that everyone must stop exchanging media attacks. He added that intellectuals, media agencies, and some political leaders must hasten to refrain from these acts, move in a positive direction, act with all their power to affirm ties of friendship, restore trust, and move quickly to achieve these goals.

Dr. Abu-al-Majd called for the establishment of an effective Arab system based on the development of an indigenous Arab military and economic capability and the creation of an Arab judicial system that can judge conflicts of a legal nature.

He stated that there is an urgent need to maintain momentum in the service of the Palestinian cause and to surmount the erroneous position of its leadership.

Sabri al-Qadi, the chairman of the Arab affairs committee in the Egyptian parliament, called for serious movement toward solving all problems of the Middle East through peaceful means, based on the resolutions of international legitimacy. He rejects any Israeli, expansionary vision, the continued Israeli occupation of the occupied territories, and the construction of settlements in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Al-Qadi agreed with Dr. Abu-al-Majd regarding the need to "stop mutual media attacks and to devote ourselves to the reconstruction of an integrated Arab security system, through which we develop Arab, military capabilities.

### Editorial Terms Arabs 'Indifferent' Towards Issues

91AA0484B Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 10 Jun 91 p 8

[Editorial by Hisham Tantawi: "Question"]

[Excerpts] The only way for the Palestinian people to return to their homeland is to have a military coup in Israel against Shamir and to turn the democratic system of rule there into an authoritarian regime whereby elections would be rigged and illegitimate governments and

an illegitimate Knesset would be formed. This is the only hope for the Palestinian people to beat Israel because the people who have known and practiced democracy cannot be defeated by serfs and undemocratic nations.

Last week the Zionist lobby was able to fulfill all its demands in exchange for pledging its support for Bush in the next elections. The American president was quick to respond to this offer, notwithstanding the great embarrassment such a response may cause. This is not important, however, because, in his view, embarrassment before the Arabs is no embarrassment at all because the Arabs themselves are living a great contradiction. The simple matter is that the American president, George Bush, had declared his denunciation of Zionist settlements in the occupied territories, stating that Israel was impeding the peace process by searching for immigrants. This was Bush's point of view two weeks ago. Today, however, the matter has been exposed, making it clear that Bush was personally behind "Operation Sulayman," the largest operation of Falasha Jewish immigration to Israel. [passage omitted]

If this is the role the Zionist lobby is playing, what role is the Arab lobby in the United States playing? Where are the ambassadors? Where are our representatives in the United Nations? We have not heard any of them denouncing President Bush's position. They are no different from the governments that sent them there. They are indifferent and unconcerned and all they have on their minds are sales in the United States. They are not bothered by any of the most important problems in their countries. This is not only their fault, but everyone else's as well because we are living in an era where democracy has disappeared. Consequently, over 150 million Arabs have been unable to defeat 4 million Jews even though the Arabs have everything that Israel has, and then some, except for one thing, democracy.

#### **Al-Sa'd Owner Discusses Reopening, Legitimacy**

91AA0442A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
7 Jun 91 p 9

[Text] Ashraf al-Sa'd has announced the reopening of the doors for the receipt of funds. He has offered instruments of 100, 200, 300, and even 1,000 Egyptian pounds, emphasizing that they will realize annual earnings of no less than 22.5 percent.

Al-Sa'd stated that the new instruments are completely safe, because they are subject to Investment Law No. 146 of 1988.

There is strange boldness in the position, because the investment scene is still suffering from the al-Rayyan and al-Sharif affairs. Also, Ashraf al-Sa'd himself has had previous experience in this field, and rumors about him continue to circulate.

In a two-hour interview, Ashraf al-Sa'd speaks about his new investment project, his previous experience, what people say about him, and what they fear about him.

Ashraf al-Sa'd stated that the previous experiment was not regulated by the state, but the company nonetheless operated in the climate of "no law," as if there were a law. [He indicated:] We protected the funds of depositors, as indicated by the fact that when the state intervened, it found these funds ready to be refunded. These are not my words, but rather the testimony of the account auditors who were assigned to audit the company's financial position.

#### **The New Law**

He adds: The new law under which we will operate has two parts. The first protects depositors' funds, and the second protects the company from being subject to a sudden order to return funds.

He indicates that, under the law, funds must be used in Egypt and the company is required to specify the date for the return of the funds to depositors. Therefore, "once burned, twice shy," as some say, does not apply.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] Have the people responded favorably and confidently to the new instruments which you are now announcing?

[Al-Sa'd] Actually, I did not expect this confidence so quickly, in the sense that I expected confidence, but the speed of the response surprised me. This is by the grace of God the sublime and exalted.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] Can you provide us with specific figures?

[Al-Sa'd] It is difficult to be specific, because the amount of trust and the speed cannot be computed now.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] How is that so, given that most people do not attach credibility to these new instruments in view of the ongoing tragedies related to the al-Sharif and al-Rayyan [investment companies], which have yet to be resolved?

[Al-Sa'd] Our situation is different. We are the first company whose positions were reconciled after its financial position was ascertained. It is also important to distinguish between the situations of al-Sharif and al-Rayyan. Al-Sharif placed all of its funds in industry. The fact of the matter is that the funds deposited by the people with al-Sharif are safe. However, the circumstances of the market and industry differ from those of commerce. Also, it is impossible to fulfill the people's wishes for the return of their funds immediately upon demand. Frankly, the depositors who are in a position to help al-Sharif, because they have an interest in the company not collapsing.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] You are announcing annual interest of 22.5 percent on the new instruments you are offering. In which type of activity will you engage to realize this large net volume of earnings?

[Al-Sa'd] Any citizen who takes out a bank loan to establish a project pays interest of at least 20 percent. In

other words, someone who borrows at this interest rate must realize earnings that at least correspond to the interest. Otherwise, he would not borrow.

I believe that it is precisely commerce that realizes earnings of between 50 and 100 percent. Also, a successful industry realizes high rates, such as those which it announces.

### **The Replacement of Cars**

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] You have past experience in the replacement of old cars with new cars. It was marred by many problems. Are there any new developments regarding this subject?

[Al-Sa'd] The experiment to replace old cars was marginal, involving only 15 cars. We stopped it and now deal only in new cars in a business that covers all aspects, including the sale of cars and spare parts for cars.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] How do you guarantee veracity of your word?

[Al-Sa'd] The official announcement of the company's renewed receipt of funds would not have been possible in this open manner if pertinent, official agencies had not ascertained the soundness of all that pertains to us, and that our assets cover the rights of old and new depositors.

Regarding guarantees of veracity, I maintain that the company's present strength is indicated by its survival with or without Ashraf al-Sa'd. We have a cocktail of industrial, agricultural, and commercial companies that have been established in the space of three years. For example, we have the Zanus Refrigerator Factory, whose current value is 60 million Egyptian pounds; the Altra Elevator Company, whose value is no less than 30 million Egyptian pounds; and the largest furniture factory. We are also the largest participants in the Cairo Specialist Hospital and the al-Mansurah-Spain Company for ready-made clothing.

### **Accusation and Defense**

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] People blame al-Sa'd for their financial debts and for not paying their rights in the past.

[Al-Sa'd] My presence and survival at present is the greatest indication of the fact that the company is very strong and that this talk is unrealistic. The circumstances experienced by company in the past did not enable us to meet the demands of the people all at once, especially if we take into account that investment companies are completely different from banks.

Also, a bank that does not invest its funds in projects and instead keeps them in deposits in other banks cannot return these funds until the terms of these deposits have ended. In other words, that bank cannot suddenly repay someone. We gave every depositor who came [to us seeking a refund] a portion of his balance. The auditors appointed by the Central Agency for Accounts issued a certificate, which is lodged with the Capital Market

Authority, and which affirms that depositors were refunded 31.5 percent of the value of their deposits in the company. It should be known that the company was required to refund only 14 percent of depositors' funds during the first year of the reconciliation of positions.

### **Initial Judicial Sentences**

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] Can you comment on the cases in which imprisonment sentences were handed down against al-Sa'd, because he did not refund money to depositors?

[Al-Sa'd] Until now, no final, executable judgement has been issued in any case. All of the claims were made by several depositors who did not agree originally with the new law. They believed that the timetable determined by the law, which is three years for Egyptian currency and four years for foreign currency, is not binding on them. They want their rights immediately. The problem is that the company was permitted to receive funds again only ten days ago. If my monetary flows permitted the refund of funds, the company would not hesitate one moment, with or without the law, because, in the end, these rights belong to the depositors.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] Does that mean that the investment companies operate by using new deposits to provide refunds to old depositors, without a serious effort to realize earnings and real balances?

[Al-Sa'd] The banks also use this method, as indicated by the fact that a bank does not retain all of the deposits it receives in its vault. Otherwise, it would incur a great loss. For example, if, on a given date, a bank collects 1 million Egyptian pounds, it invests them immediately. If, on the following day, one of the depositors in this million wishes to withdraw his money, the bank refunds his deposit using funds deposited by new depositors.

This is not a mistake. The important thing is for all deposits to be present. The danger is if a sum from these deposits is lost.

In general, what happens here at al-Sa'd happens in any economic or financial entity in the world. All of the people's money is inside the company, and moreover, its value has multiplied.

### **Reassurance**

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] Do you believe that these remarks suffice to reassure the people after what happened regarding investment companies in the past?

[Al-Sa'd] I am speaking about my company, and I maintain that it is strong and that the people's funds are guaranteed. No person or entity in the republic would say that the rights of depositors have been lost. What happened was tantamount to a fire in a boat containing investment companies of two types: those which are serious and those which are not serious. All were exposed to the dangers of the fire. The important thing is that those who had life preservers emerged safely. I do not

want to take formal exception to anyone. The facts state that on 10 June 1988, it was decided to prohibit the receipt of funds under any designation, and the state ordered anyone who received funds for any purpose to declare the receipt of the funds, in addition to declaring the nature and type of funds received, the names of the persons from whom the funds were received, and the location of these funds!?

The state also assigned a group of auditors to each company to review the information. Three of the largest most famous accounting offices in Egypt fell to the lot of the al-Sa'd Company. When representatives of these offices arrived at the company, the picture, in their minds, was extremely bad. They were clearly making a running start.

They began to work, examining the company's records and ledgers to ascertain the company's financial position. Their work lasted about 13 months, from 10 June 1988 until 26 July 1989.

The financial position prepared by these offices was sent to the Capital Market Authority, which studied it thoroughly. The Authority then issued a decision to reconcile the positions of the three al-Sa'd companies. That was the Capital Market Authority's first authorization of the continuation of an investment company under [classification?] number one.

That decision is a strong indicator of the sound position of the company that we are presenting to everyone.

It remains to indicate that some people are not satisfied with the company's acquisition of the right to receive funds again, and they will continue to have doubts. We want to discourage tendentious rumors, because the funds deposited in the company are not linked to a person, which is what the law has now accomplished.

Pursuant to Law 146 of 1988, the company has a board of directors. The board operates according to the canonical law of Islam and the Shari'ah. There are supervisory agencies inside and outside the company to safeguard depositors' funds, and any rumor aims to impede the process. Frankly, I expect a new war against the company. However, God willing, we will not turn to that, and we will continue on our way according to the law.

#### Currency Trading

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] What is your opinion regarding the currency trading practiced by investment companies, because it is an easy means to realize profits?

[Al-Sa'd] That matter is now regulated. Whoever wants to operate in this field can apply for and obtain a license to operate a currency exchange company.

This issue does not concern me. Production programs are what concern me.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] How do you, as one who works in this field, view the state of despair that has overcome

depositors at present regarding the investment companies, especially al-Rayyan and al-Sharif?

[Al-Sa'd] First of all, I cannot pass judgement on measures taken and deemed suitable by the state regarding these companies. That is the bailiwick of the pertinent official agencies.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] What is your opinion on that?

[Al-Sa'd] With the exception of the al-Rayyan problem, the problem is not as serious as believed, because many of these companies have a high percentage of depositors' funds, and the current inflation in the markets could increase the percentage of the rights which depositors can obtain.

I believe that the problem stems primarily from the absence of a law that regulates the process at the time when these companies first appeared. However, the new law, for example, prohibits the transfer of funds abroad without permission from the economy minister. If this stipulation had existed from the start, these complications would not have occurred.

In addition, the law includes numerous other stipulations, recorded in a 100-page book, all of which protect depositors' funds.

#### Ordinary Problems

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] What is al-Sa'd's relation to what is happening now regarding the investment companies?

[Al-Sa'd] The al-Sa'd companies have no relation at all to what is happening now, because the funds deposited with us are treated according to the law and are under state supervision. As for our problems, they are the ordinary problems that are faced by any ordinary businessman who works with 100,000 Egyptian pounds. What do we think of a company that has 11,000 employees and deals with millions??

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] Regarding the al-Sharif Company, how do you view the problem?

[Al-Sa'd] The problem of the al-Sharif Company concerns liquidity, because all of the funds are in factories. The funds should be given a special deferment [nazirah] [regarding the fulfillment of obligations to depositors], or the depositors should obtain shares in the company, so that it becomes owned by them, and they bear full liability.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] And al-Rayyan?

[Al-Sa'd] This deal is surrounded by uncertainty and irrationality. If it is effected, it will be a miracle.

If I were concluding the deal, I would not sign a promissory contract to sell until after ascertaining that there is complete seriousness [to effect the transaction], because I do not like, and I reject, dealing with hidden matters. For example, if someone came to me to buy a car for 20,000 Egyptian pounds, he must put down at least half

of the cost. However, people purchase a deal for 1.5 billion Egyptian pounds and put down nothing to guarantee the seriousness [of their intent], which is strange. If I were to excuse the government officials who are dealing in this manner with the purchasers' representative—who received many facilities—due to those officials' desire to recover the depositors' funds, my sole reservation would nonetheless be that there must be a guarantee of seriousness.

As a citizen, I believe that if the purchaser's representatives had put down only 300,000 Egyptian pounds, that would have been considered a guarantee of the seriousness of the deal.

### The New Instruments

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] Let us return to the new instruments that you have offered and the guarantees provided under the law to anyone wishing to participate in these instruments.

[Al-Sa'd] The story is that the capital and the return on capital of our old projects was allocated to cope with old instruments, which caused the company to consider issuing other instruments for investment in the company's commercial activities, especially the car and furniture businesses.

The fact that the law permits the company to receive funds on the condition that the funds which we receive from the public do not exceed the amount of ten times [equity] capital means that the al-Sa'd Trade and Development Company, which is one of our three companies whose positions were reconciled, and whose capital totals 20 million Egyptian pounds, should accept [no more than] about 200 million Egyptian pounds.

Because the company refunded a significant portion of the funds of former depositors during the previous period, we can now receive more than 80 million Egyptian pounds from new depositors.

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] What about the relation of the Capital Market Authority to these instruments? Does it approve the issue?

[Al-Sa'd] The company's regular general assembly can decide on different issues of instruments according to financing needs and based on a financial report (economic benefit analysis) prepared by the board of directors. Two accountants certify the soundness of the information contained in this report. The company then notifies the Capital Market Authority about the board of directors' report, in an application to issue the instruments, and about the minutes of the general assembly meeting in which the issue is approved within ten days of the meeting. This is merely notification of the Authority pursuant to the law.

### The Guarantees

[AL-JUMHURIYAH] What about guarantees?

[Al-Sa'd] The law allows the Central Agency for Accounts to appoint two auditors with advance expertise to audit the accounts. Their purpose is to audit the funds of depositors and to perform an economic benefits analysis of any new project.

The law stipulates that every auditor who intentionally writes a false report on his audit, or attempts to intentionally conceal essential facts, shall be punished by imprisonment and a fine.

In other words, everything that the al-Sa'd Company announces has been reviewed by two accountants. In the end, it is unreasonable for the company to retain the funds of depositors without a law, or to squander them in the shadow of the law. Is that not obvious?!

### Shaykh Saqr Appointed Fatwa Committee Head

91P40349A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
4 Jul 91 p 7

[Text] The Supreme Imam Jad-al-Haq 'Ali Jad-al-Haq, the shaykh of al-Azhar, has issued a decree selecting Shaykh 'Atiyah Muhammad Saqr, a member of the Islamic Research Academy, as chairman of the Fatwa Committee.

### Al-Sha'rawi Appointed Petroleum Authority Chairman

91P40365A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic  
19 Jun 91 p 59

[Excerpt] Mustafa al-Sha'rawi has been appointed chairman of the board of directors of the Egyptian General Petroleum Authority, replacing Hamdi al-Banbi, the new minister of petroleum and mineral wealth. Like al-Banbi, al-Sha'rawi spent most of his career, from 1972 to 1985, in the Gulf of Suez Petroleum Company. [passage omitted]

### Party Urges Workers To Unite Against New Law

91AA0456B Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Jun 91 p 2

[Article by Muhammad al-Shamman: Labor Party Workers' Secretariat Communique"]

[Text] Work and soon will God observe your works, and His Apostles and the Believers" [Koran, 9:105]. The Labor Party's Workers' Secretariat has followed with concern the new economic legislation, the most important of which is the public sector law that will impact greatly on public sector workers.

And, in view of our genuine Islamic principles and our commitment to our national duty of defending the workers, we declare that:

First, workers are the key factor in the production process, and any infringement upon their rights and the gains they have achieved along a journey of struggle and

hard sacrifices is unacceptable and will have a negative impact on higher production, which is the declared objective of this legislation.

Second, public sector reform and development must not be carried out at the whim of international organizations, led by the IMF, but rather in accordance with our own national vision. Workers and their representatives in union committees have submitted many practical solutions to the problems their companies and factories are facing, but no one is listening to what they say. Meanwhile, the government has rushed to accept IMF instructions that are ultimately aimed at eliminating the public sector and displacing thousands of workers.

The new law governing the public labor sector, as published in the press, is full of loopholes and provisions that take away from the workers' rights and, therefore, is unacceptable.

The Labor Party's Workers' Secretariat urges all workers and their union committees to hold on to their rights and achievements and to stand united against attempts to undermine them. It also calls upon them to raise their production so that we can achieve self-reliance, to which we all aspire, and stop begging for aid and loans.

God is Great, long live the people, and praise be to God.

#### **Egyptian Environmental Study Funded by Germany**

91AA0445A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
14 Jun 91 p 5

[Text] Cairo—The German Government has agreed to allocate 25 million marks to conduct studies and applied experiments to end cement-dust pollution in the Hulwan area.

Engineer Faruq Budaywi, the chief of the Egyptian Environmental Affairs Agency, stated that these experiments concern two specific proposals. The first involves the collection of cement dust that ascends from cement factories by means of special filters. The collected dust is heated to vaporize the alkaline material in it and is then reconstituted as usable cement. The second proposal concerns the collection of this cement dust and its mixture with sand to produce construction bricks.

Eng. Faruq Budaywi indicated, in a seminar organized by the Arab Office for Youth and the Environment in Cairo this week, that the cement dust that ascends from the chimneys of factories amounts to 7 percent to 8 percent of production, and that the utilization of this dust would achieve a 10-percent production increase and would protect the environment from pollution.

The Environmental Affairs Agency is achieving these two goals by placing filters on the chimneys of cement factories in the Hulwan area. These filters, which prevent the ascent of cement dust, cost \$5 million, or 19 million Egyptian pounds. They were produced domestically and incorporate several imported components not produced

in Egypt. The technical agencies are evaluating the performance of these filters and are modifying them to suit Egypt's local conditions.

Eng. Faruq Budaywi adds that the third proposal for using the cement dust employs the semi-wet method, which involves collecting the dust, spraying water on it to clean it of impurities, and reproducing it as cement usable for all purposes. This is considered one of the least polluting cement production methods, because the percentage of cement dust that ascends into the air is low due to the use of water in production.

The Environmental Affairs Agency is currently supervising the establishment of a green belt of trees around Cairo to protect it from the dust and sand that falls on it from the mountains and surrounding desert, especially the Muqattam hills. The length of the belt being planted is 99 kilometers. The first part of it has been completed. It extends from the al-Fayyum desert highway eastward through the desert, crossing the Nile to the al-Ma'adi area, to continue around the circular road neighboring the al-Muqattam hills.

With its green areas and gardens, the green belt helps to eliminate suspended dust particles; these particles threaten Cairo's population with serious dangers, because facilitate the dispersal of lethal gasses, such as carbon-monoxide and carbon-dioxide, which asphyxiate persons exposed to them when their percentages in the air increase, especially in the hot summer months in crowded areas of Cairo.

Eng. Faruq Budaywi states that the Environmental Affairs Agency, in cooperation with state agencies, has established defined standards for the technical inspection of cars to protect the air from pollution caused by car exhaust. These standards prohibit the operation of cars requiring a complete or partial engine overhaul.

He pointed to another pollution problem caused by the type of motorcycles used in Egypt. These motorcycles are a major source of pollution because of the high percentages of oil added to the gas they use. He adds that the solution to this problem requires years, during which the motorcycle factory would change its production method and produce engines requiring the addition of low percentages of oil to the fuel to avoid the production of the strong pollutants that we are now seeing.

#### **Germany Invested 600 Million Marks in Egypt in 1990**

91AA0445B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic  
16 Jun 91 p 5

[Text] Cairo—A report prepared by the West German Chamber of Commerce states that private German investments in Egypt recorded a large increase in 1990. The report indicates that most of these investments were in the commodities production sectors and development projects. Their value totalled 600 million German marks.

The report states that German investments were concentrated in oil and natural gas production (especially in the Suez area), iron and steel projects, and the production of light metals.

The report adds that German investors also focused on the production of electronic devices and equipment, sectors which have witnessed substantial development during the past three years.

German investments in the food and beverage sectors increased. German companies also began to participate in the projects of several German banks through the acquisition of shares in a number of investment banks and other financial organizations, while the German side also provided support for the insurance, agriculture, electricity, gas, and water sectors.

### Prices Rise for Bus, TV, Mail Services

91AA0456A Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 4 Jun 91 p 2

[Article by Hani 'Ammarah: "Transportation Costs Jumped 25 Percent and Mail and Telephone Costs 80 to 100 Percent"]

[Excerpts] The government has drawn up a firm plan to raise the cost of public transportation similar to the one it implemented when it raised the price of bread under the guise of "improved bread" and "special bread." In public transportation, the pretext is "special service" and "first-class service." However, the people will ultimately be faced with a fait accompli, namely the disappearance of the 10-piaster buses and the popularization of the "first-class service" ones.

The Transportation Authority has also invented the special service tactic along nonstop routes at 40 piasters a ticket, replacing old routes that used to cost 10 piasters. [passages omitted]

### Telephone Exchanges and Post Offices

The price hike did not stop there. It included telephone exchanges and regular, express, and international mail.

The cost of international phone calls keeps going up. A one-minute call to Saudi Arabia has gone up from 275 piasters to 4.5 Egyptian pounds; to Europe, from 5 to 7 pounds; and to Australia and Latin America, from 7.5 to 10.00 pounds.

Parcel post charges have skyrocketed as well. A 100-gram parcel costs 20 pounds to mail to Arab countries and 25 pounds to foreign countries.

I asked an import-export businessman how much he paid a day for phone calls and parcel post. He said: "On an average day, I pay 105 pounds for 15 minutes of phone calls to Europe, 37.5 pounds for three fax papers, and 25 pounds for 200 grams of parcel post.

"This adds up to 167 pounds a day or about 5,000 pounds a month for someone like me with modest

means. These charges are borne by the buyers who sometimes refrain from buying, thus adding another impediment to the export business."

[passages omitted]

And now let us consider the rise in long-distance phone charges and subscription rates. Subscription rates have risen 30 percent, to 50 pounds for home and 75 pounds for business subscriptions.

### Report Examines Reasons Behind Bread Shortages

91AA0472C Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 16 Jun 91 p 3

[Report by Sana' Mustafa]

[Text] The Supply Ministry has been accustomed to raising bread prices whenever an opportunity presents itself. However, it has begun to behave differently compared to the past. Whereas it used to reduce the weight and supply of a loaf to compel unfortunate citizens to search for a better loaf at any cost, it is now supplying bread in most of the quarters in a good manner, but it has reduced the allotments of flour permitted to each bakery and has raised fuel prices. Consequently, the bakeries, which are helpless, have begun to close their doors after 1300, because their flour allotments run out. Thus, citizens have begun to search for a loaf of bread at any cost, anywhere. Bakery owners and citizens are inquiring about the reasons for this crisis, which has been fabricated by the Supply Ministry, and they are wondering whether it is intended to increase the price of a loaf from 5 to 10 piasters!

AL-WAFD sought out the causes of the bread crisis, which has begun to spread anew. It found most of the quarters which it toured completely devoid of bread, and citizens raising their voices in protest of the crisis, with bakery owners standing in solidarity with them.

In the al-Sayyidah Zaynab area, one bakery owner highlighted the increase in prices, all of which has fallen on the bakery owners. For example, the prices of operating fuel have increased [to] 30 Egyptian pounds, and 60 Egyptian pounds must be paid daily to supply bakery production to the [distribution] kiosks, which the Supply Ministry invented! The bakery owner declared that the decisions issued by the Supply Ministry are tantamount to a license to steal, because bakeries are compelled to reduce the weight of a loaf in an attempt to compensate for the losses being incurred by bakery owners.

### The Kiosk Is Closed

In the quarter of al-'Ajuzah, the doors of all of the kiosks designated for the sale of the baladi [whole-meal] loaf were closed. In front of one of them, stood Huda Rajab, a government employee, saying: I have been facing the problem of obtaining a loaf of bread since the decision to establish kiosks. On many occasions, I fail to obtain my needs, because work hours end at 1500. When I asked

about the reason for the crisis of the loaf, the bakery owner informed me that the Supply Ministry decided to reduce the allotments that it disburses to the bakeries in an attempt to increase the price of a loaf again.

### One Bakery Does Not Suffice

In the quarter of al-Zahra' in old Cairo, the residents suffer from a shortage of baladi bread, because of the closure of bakeries that had served tens of thousands of residents. Only one bakery serves more than 200,000 people. We met with 'Abdallah Muhammad 'Abdallah, a cashier at the bakery. He stated: The bakery's allotment of baladi flour totals 22 sacks per day. This allotment does not suffice for the needs of the residents of al-Zahra'. Also, the kiosks that sell the bakery's production are only interested in obtaining the fee which they must provide to the chairmanship of the quarter every day. After that, they close their doors to the public. Consequently, we are again undertaking the role of distributors. That is the secret regarding this crisis from which the people are suffering.

At one of the kiosks in al-Zahra', Muhammad Sa'id, a bread seller, stated: We are subordinate to the chairmanship of the Old Cairo quarter. We work from 0800 until 1600. After the end of the work shift, the bakery assumes responsibility for selling, with its [the chairman's] knowledge. Regarding the reason for the crisis, he stated: The bakeries in some quarters are operating only one shift, due to the shortage of flour allotted to them, despite the increase in the population density. The supply is less than the demand, and therein lies the crisis!

Finally, Muhammad Sulayman, a state employee, stated that the bread which we eat is of a very poor quality. He asked: Where is supply supervision over the bakeries, where are the health inspectors? The game is well-known. It is a measure taken by the Supply Ministry in an attempt to increase the price of a loaf.

### New Oil, Gas Exploration Proposed for Red Sea

91P40367A Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic  
10 Jul 91 p 1

[Report by Faruq 'Abd-al-'Aziz]

[Excerpt] The General Petroleum Authority has begun to invite tenders on new areas for oil and gas exploration in the outlying regions and deeper waters of the Red Sea, in order to increase its confirmed reserves.

This was stated by Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources Hamdi al-Banbi. He said that the area of exploration ranges between 18,000 and 22,000 square km. [passage omitted]

### Editorials Support Church Rights of Copts

91P40345A

[Editorial Report] The 3 July 1991 issue of the Cairo Arabic-language weekly AL-AHALI runs editorials on

pages 5 and 6 defending Egyptian Copts' right to build and renovate their churches in accordance with a law that requires churches to obtain permission from the Ministry of Awqaf before doing any construction or renovation.

On page 5, Christian writer Dr. Milad Hanna notes that the controversy over church expansion has come up again since the Mit Barra church in al-Minufiya was allowed to renovate its bathrooms this year. Dr. Hanna reminds readers that Egypt has a history of Christian-Muslim coexistence that is provided for in its constitution, but recalls the time when he was imprisoned in 1981 with other Christians who were jailed for purchasing land for a housing project which was then used to build a church.

Dr. Hanna concludes his editorial by calling on "all rational Egyptians, Christian and Muslim" to "preserve the legacy of Egyptian national unity and cleanse yourselves of the disgrace that perpetuates these regulations and practices which make Egypt the laughingstock of advanced nations that have long since overcome our backwardness."

On page 6, in the "A Page in Egypt's History" column under the title "What's Happening to Egypt? Muslims and Churches," Dr. Rif'at al-Sa'id records the history of Egyptian Muslim tolerance and respect for Christian institutions, using the monastery of St. Catherine in the Sinai and the Abu Mina (or Marmina) church in Farnut (name as published) as examples. Commenting on modern-day sectarian radicals, Dr. al-Sa'id says that "the question of 'What is happening to Egypt?' is not only directed at this flock of extremist and wanton youth, but at everyone, for the conflict is everyone's conflict, and the tragedy is everyone's tragedy."

### IRAQ

### U.S. Said Using UN To Maintain Economic 'Siege'

JN1806110291 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0713 GMT  
18 Jun 91

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Jun (INA)—The newspaper AL-JUMHURIYAH has said that nearly four months after the destructive aerial bombardment on Iraqi economic installations, villages, and towns stopped, the United States is now leading a campaign of feverish efforts to maintain the scale of aggression on Iraq.

In an article it published today, the paper added that the U.S. campaign targets Iraq's interests and the lives and security of Iraq's sons, their national independence and pan-Arab aspirations, as well as their leading symbols, foremost of which is the symbol of their national unity, President Saddam Husayn.

The newspaper clarified that Washington is giving secondary importance to other hotbeds of aggression on Iraq, giving the green light to the Iranian Government,

and feeding and luring other countries in the region to maintain the economic siege on Iraq. The British Government and the Zionist entity are behind this U.S. insistence on aggression with the same zeal, and sometimes even more.

The newspaper affirmed that these U.S. efforts—which are more prominent than those of any other countries—to impose a state of aggressive war on Iraq are employing the corridors of the United Nations as their launching pad to maintain the unjust resolutions issued by the Security Council since last August against Iraq.

Concluding its article, the newspaper stressed that these conspiratorial public and concealed aspects of the ongoing U.S. aggression on Iraq will not realize the evil goals and ambitions the United States hopes for. Its partners will also realize that this partnership will not yield for them the benefits, results, or gains which they could otherwise have from natural political and economic relations with Iraq.

#### **Ability To Face Blockade Affirmed by Jasim**

*JN0206112591 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1100 GMT 2 Jun 91*

[Text] Latif Nusayyif Jasim, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party's Regional Command and secretary of the Central Bureau for the Professional and Popular Organization of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, has affirmed Iraq's ability to face the challenges posed by the unjust economic blockade enforced against its people.

During a meeting he held with a delegation of Jordanian agricultural engineers, Jasim added that the Iraqis will not forget the position of pride and loftiness the sons of fraternal Jordan took to support their Iraqi brothers during the savage American-Zionist-NATO aggression.

The members of the Jordanian delegation affirmed their pride in the Iraqis' steadfastness in the face of the unjust aggression and their determination to reconstruct what the aggressors have destroyed. Moreover, they asserted their full readiness to contribute to the agricultural operations in Iraq to help it achieve self-sufficiency and break the economic blockade imposed on it.

#### **Jasim Meets Tunisian Progressive Socialist Leader**

*Baghdad INA in Arabic 1839 GMT 5 Jul 91*

[Text] Mr. Latif Nusayyif Jasim, member of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party's Regional Command and the official responsible for the Foreign Relations Office, received this evening Mr. Ahmed Nejib Chebbi, secretary general of the Tunisian Progressive Socialist Assembly, and his delegation.

They discussed the latest developments in the Arab and international arenas as well as bilateral relations and means of promoting them.

During the meeting, Mr. Latif Nusayyif Jasim reviewed the achievements of the campaign to reconstruct what was damaged by the American-Zionist-NATO aggression machine in the services and cultural sectors in Iraq.

Mr. Ahmed Najib Chebbi praised the steadfastness of the Iraqi people and their wise leadership in the face of the American-NATO-Zionist aggression, pointing out that this position underscores the Arab nation's capability to confront dangers and challenges.

#### **Hammadi Discusses Ways of Modernizing Agriculture**

*JN0907174391 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1600 GMT 9 Jul 91*

[Text] Prime Minister Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi has stressed the need to draw on scientific agriculture and modernize the agricultural means of production in Iraq.

While chairing a meeting attended by Agriculture and Irrigation Minister 'Abd-al-Wahhab Mahmud al-Sabban and some agricultural officials today, Dr. Hammadi added that the process of rejuvenating agriculture in Iraq requires that special attention be given to agricultural research, guidance, and preventive treatment in accordance with a future outlook; that red tape be eliminated; and that agricultural work be mechanized.

Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi went on to say: Rejuvenating agriculture requires that production methods be adopted that are compatible with the special agricultural situation in Iraq. He noted that it is important to give incentives to those working in the agricultural sector and to tackle the problems that hamper the agricultural process in a manner that helps increase and improve agricultural production.

During the meeting, the conferees affirmed the importance of reducing crop losses and providing agricultural products with preventive treatments by bringing about the conditions for this treatment and the education of qualified technical cadres to conduct preventive treatment, apply pesticides, and modernize air application methods. The conferees also urged the development of quarantine operations and urged contacting research centers at ministries and universities to benefit from and apply their experience.

#### **Physicians Asked by Hammadi Not To Exceed Authorized Fees**

*JN2706175191 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio Network in Arabic 1600 GMT 27 Jun 91*

[Text] Prime Minister Dr. Sa'dun Hammadi has received Dr. Raji 'Abbas al-Tikriti, president of the Iraqi Physicians Association.

They discussed how to deal with the increase in fees physicians charge for services they render to the public. The prime minister stressed that it was important for physicians to comply with officially authorized fees and

not exceed them, so as to ensure the interests of patients. They agreed that the Iraqi Physicians Association will ask all physicians to abide by the fees set for their medical services to the public and not to exceed them.

In a related development, the Physicians Association urged its members to fully comply with the previously authorized prescriptions fees and not to receive or impose additional fees that are too much of a burden on the public, especially working people, who have begun to suffer huge economic pressures.

In a statement issued today, the association said that physicians, an elite in their humane dealings and an ideal example to be emulated, should remain bright suns in the skies of Iraq to keep the medical profession in an exalted position. Furthermore, the statement urged physicians to always uphold the slogan to selflessly give of themselves to render the necessary medical services to the public.

The association said that the relationship that ideally needs to be maintained between patient and physician during the performance of the latter's humanitarian mission must be given precedence over any other consideration, as this relationship is a special one that should have nothing to do with the material considerations that have begun to control people's lives. The association also urged physicians not to run after financial and personal gains.

### Islamic Action Organization Profiled

91AE0440A Beirut AL-SHIRA' in Arabic 3 Jun 91  
pp 30-33

[Article by Hasan Sabri and Wazin Hamud: "AL-SHIRA' Publishes Series Concerning Iraqi Islamic Movements—No 12, the Islamic Action Organization"]

[Text] This new installment concerning the Islamic Action Organization is a part of the series about opposition Islamic movements in Iraq, which AL-SHIRA' is continuing, in an attempt to uncover some of the elements of the struggle that Iraq has been—and still is—experiencing since the end of the Gulf War, between the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn, and the forces opposed to him, led by the Islamic forces and factions.

This series' purpose is not only to present information about this or that Islamic party, but rather, it also is intended to shed light on a part of the history of modern Iraq, with its extraordinary burst forward, like a torrential river, causing great events that have had repercussions on the situation in the entire region, and on the world as a whole.

Perhaps, that which inflames Islamic Action Organization circles and elements in Iraq more than anything else is being accused of being Iranian, as a tool or a means of manipulation or objective. This charge was rumored

about this organization at a time when it was undertaking activities in opposition to the government in Iraq, at the height of the war with Khomeyni's Iran.

The fact is that the organization's relationship with Iran, which forms an important part of its history, is very complex and complicated. It has been subjected over the past years to an ebb and flow, rise and fall, expansion and recession, despite the historic ties between the organization's leaders, and the Iranian elements in power since the victory of the Khomeyni revolution, and the taking of power in Iran.

Two incidents prove the nature of the problem or dilemma, which were the basis for stopping the course of the relationship during those years. These two incidents are similar, because of Iran's attempt in each one of them to take complete control of the organization. However, the organization rejected any infringement on its structure, independence, or issues that were specifically Iraqi.

In the two incidents, representatives from Iran met with Islamic Action Organization representatives and, twice, the Iranian proposal was clear, direct, and frank: "Let us be molded together in one crucible." Twice the organization's answer was clear, direct, and frank, without any attempt or consideration for the repercussions of the rejection on the organization or its interests. The organization's answer was categorical: "The issue with respect to us is that we do not want to be molded together with anyone, but we are totally prepared to participate and cooperate with other friends, whose opinions attract us. We will hold discussions with them, and reach mutual convictions, and we will start to work. The issue is not about being molded together with others; we must have decisions and directions. This is what displeases us; melting in a pot with Iran means that we would melt in its pot."

### Beginning

Before reviewing the highlights of the issues at dispute between the two sides, and they are numerous, we shall deal with Islamic legal questions and other political questions, which must be introduced to shed light on the history of the birth of the relationship, and the atmosphere and climate in which it was launched, especially when Khomeyni's supporters were still out of power, suffering from isolation and persecution. The relationship goes back to the late fifties between Imam Khomeyni and Muhammad al-Shirazi, and was strengthened in 1963, when the former was arrested in Iran, as a result of the failure of his first revolution, and the death and arrest of a large number of his supporters. At that time, al-Shirazi was upset, and worked to set up councils of consolation and *al-fatihah* [introduction to God] in Karbala' for the souls of those killed. He also issued a statement entitled: What is Happening in Iran...a Despotic Shah and an Infidel Government."

Al-Shirazi was not content with that; on the contrary, he cabled a large number of world leaders, demanding Khomeyni's release. He also sent a telegram to the UN

secretary general, demanding UN intervention to obtain his release. He also devoted three issues of the magazine, *AL-AKHLAQ WA AL-ADAB*, to discussion of events in Iran, and solidarity with Iranians against the shah's government.

Al-Shirazi intensified his efforts, which contributed to Khomeyni's release. This was what prompted Iran's foreign minister at that time, Ardeshir Zahedi, to say: Khomeyni sneezed in Qom, and al-Shirazi broadcast the sound all over the world.

When Khomeyni was released, after declaring himself as the source [of emulation (*marja'*)] in order to avoid being executed, especially since Iranian law at that time steered clear of executing sources [of emulation], he was exiled to Iraq. Al-Shirazi sent a delegation, composed of 50 vehicles from Karbala' to meet the exiled imam in the town of al-Mussayib, located between Karbala' and Baghdad. He received it as if it was his town. Al-Shirazi hosted him in Karbala', made him imam of the prayers, and prayed behind him, in order to express his support and solidarity with him, at a time when the exiled imam was isolated and the object of anger in many circles, even among the sources [of emulation]. Al-Shirazi offered Khomeyni residence in Karbala', provided that al-Shirazi would be the source [of emulation], but Khomeyni refused, insisting on going to al-Najaf.

### Story of a Picture

This concern for Khomeyni by al-Shirazi was noted by many Iranians, who accompanied the leader of the Iranian 'revolution.' Al-Shirazi dared to do what he did at a time when many religious men and sources [of emulation] were avoiding meeting with Khomeyni. These people were saying that Imam Khomeyni, when he arrived in al-Najaf, visited Muhsin al-Hakim. One of those present took a picture of the two men together, which prompted one of al-Hakim's sons, in the view of those present, to take the camera, extract the film, and destroy it, so that this picture could not be printed. It was understood from this that al-Hakim had taken a position supporting Khomeyni.

Throughout the period in which al-Shirazi remained in Iraq, before leaving for Kuwait, the relationship between him and Imam Khomeyni developed and strengthened. The connecting link was Khomeyni's son Mustafa. When al-Shirazi went to Kuwait, the relationship continued and grew stronger. The Islamic Action Organization included Iranian revolutionaries and, as *AL-SHIRAZI* reported in its last issue, the relationship between Shaykh Mohammed Montazeri and Mohammed Taqi al-Madrasi began in Kuwait. Its basis was joint Islamic action in Iraq and Iran.

Frequently, the Iranians used Iraqis to convey messages to their friends in Iran, and the Iraqis also did that for the Iranians. From time to time in the early seventies, Kuwait was the meeting point for action inside both Iraq and Iran, through the Islamic theological seminary of the Great Prophet, founded by Imam al-Shirazi.

Accordingly, it is said by Iraqi observers that the Iranian roots of the leaders of the Marja'iyah Movement, or the Islamic Action Organization, led by Imam al-Shirazi, Mohammed Taqi al-Madrasi, and his brother Hadi (both sons of al-Shirazi's sister), were behind the firm, early relationship of those leaders with Khomeyni and his revolution, both on the part of the al-Shirazis, and Khomeyni and his supporters. Those observers impart considerable importance to this, especially since this relationship was not established with Islamic conditions, which had Arab and non-Persian roots, located in Iraq, but was rooted in fearless deeds in the battle of Islamic action, which could be something it neglected, ignored, or disregarded in the course of events.

### Terrorism

One must refer here to the al-Shirazis or the Islamic Action Organization with regard to the question of emulation. They did not make it a condition of membership for every member of the Islamic Action Organization to believe uncritically in Imam al-Shirazi's religious authority, in order to become a member of the organization. Among the organization's members, there were those who followed al-Shirazi, and those who believed in Khomeyni or Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, whose connection with the organization was very firm. This is what formed a point of considerable dispute with certain Iranian quarters. The organization considered 'terrorism' to be an attempt to impose something on someone, and what if this matter concerns emulation of a source? Therefore, this question must be left to people's convictions and choices. The conditions and principles of emulation must not be disregarded or disavowed in any case, no matter what the circumstances, in accordance with the principles and rules of Islamic jurisprudence, which form an indisputable foundation.

With the outbreak of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, the organization began military movements and actions inside Iraq. At the same time, it began to hope for the revolution's victory in Iran, so that that revolution could support and assist the organization in Iraq, especially since it considered itself one of the architects of the revolution, through the role its cadres played, and the relationship that it had forged between those cadres in the revolution and its own cadres. Moreover, the Islamic Action Organization was always anxious to emphasize support for the revolution, by all ways and means.

The revolution was victorious, and Mohammed Taqi and Hadi al-Madrasi were among the five leaders who founded the Revolutionary Guard in Iran. The organization worked "with all the talons" of its membership, to insure that the revolution continued and endured. (In addition to the two al-Madrasi brothers, the five included the martyr Mohammed Montazeri, Abu-Sharif, and Mahdi al-Hashemi).

The Islamic Action Organization's plunge into action to defend the revolution in its first days, led to an open split within the organization, after the revolution 'borrowed'

95 of the organization's best cadre to take over basic positions in the revolutionary state, either to operate the sectors or important institutions, or to represent them abroad in ambassadorial positions. Perhaps this matter, at the time of the organization's military operations inside Iraq, caused attention and, after these operations began, they were intensified in the latter half of the eighties, in a way that led to the most damaging injuries to the Iraqi regime's institutions and sectors inside Iraq and abroad.

While Imam Khomeyni was preoccupied with Iran, and building the revolutionary state, it was the Islamic Action Organization's opinion that there must be a struggle with the arrogance outside Iran, and not just only within Iran. Among those who were also considering this question was Shaykh Mohammed Montazeri. He met with the organization outside the framework of the state's apparatus. This view was an expression of disagreement with the official Iranian position. The organization expressed its ideas through the magazine AL-SHAHID, but it is not accurate to say that Shaykh Mohammed Montazeri was the first to support this magazine in the early days of its inception. The organization forcibly rejected the charge that AL-SHAHID was connected with Iran, the state.

#### [Box 1]

##### **The Islamic Action Organization and Syria**

Concerning the relationship between the Islamic Action Organization and Syria, one of the organization's prominent leaders says that it is excellent. The brothers in Syria have shown considerably more flexibility than have others in other places. He added that the organization's membership and leaders have not informed him about any attempt by Damascus to dictate any specific position to anyone in the organization.

#### [Box 2]

##### **Situation-Appropriate Action**

Concerning the dispute between al-Shirazi and the sources [of emulation] in al-Najaf, one of the Islamic Action Organization leaders said that there was no doubt that al-Najaf is an historic and deep-rooted theological seminary, which has graduated outstanding Islamic jurisconsults and sources [of emulation]. However, there is an issue, which is that some believe in strong centralism, which is what we call "situation-appropriate action."

#### [Box 3]

##### **Freedom of the Press**

In the first half of the eighties, the Islamic Action Organization's newspaper was suspended from publication in Iran three times by decree from the minister of

guidance, because of its independent positions, and its dispute with the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq.

##### **The Abyss**

However, the winds that came were not what the ships wanted. Differences began to appear, not about issues of building the revolutionary state, but rather, about issues pertaining to Islamic Action Organization proposals on the one hand, and Iraqi Islamists' proposals on the other. The dispute endured, and created a gulf which widened, especially since Iran's revolution was similar to all revolutions in history. It began to eat its young, and smash dreams in various fields, involving interests here and interests there. In the forefront of these interests was constructing the state of Iran, not building the state of the revolution.

As the Iraqi Islamists from other factions and political parties were hit by failure, by the positions and attempts of the dominant Iranian quarters to abolish their special identities, and to dictate instructions to them, so also were the Islamists in the Islamic Action Organization struck with similar failures, because what happened was "the viziers no longer listened to the comments and advice of the organization's staff, led by al-Shirazi." It was as if the message was "these Islamic factions are obligated to the Iranian leadership's decisions," with or without the knowledge of the revolution's supreme guide, Imam Khomeyni.

##### **Twofold Problem**

The problem that the Islamists have is twofold. On the one side, it is represented by Iran's attempts to wipe out their Iraqi identity, and on the other, it pertains to the new situation which arose, and which forced most of them to take refuge in Iran, taking up residence there, and starting a new life. This contributed to narrowing their independent decision-making, especially when they had been demanding it, so as to overcome political aspects in order to reach Islamic jurisprudential convictions, upon which to found their religion and carry the banner of Islam.

Muhammad Taqi al-Madrasi has attempted to crystallize the idea of independence since that time. The result was that the organization paid a high price. Its growth was affected, and it was destroyed informationally, especially since the balance of power in Iran—after the revolution—began to shift against the organization's interests, with the absence of its friends including, of course, the martyr Mohammed Montazeri.

The organization also continued its endorsement of Imam Khomeyni as source [of emulation]. In its view, its endorsement of Khomeyni does not negate its ties with al-Shirazi and al-Madrasi. It has always zealously guarded its independence from any state, and from Iran, because its connection with the Revolutionary Guard stemmed from that organization being a revolutionary institution, born from the womb of the revolution, and

not from the state. This was a thesis that did not surprise many inside Iran, because of the organization's innumerable problems.

The first point of dispute with the Iranian state was highlighted by the establishment of the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, which was an Iranian idea. Despite the fact that the council, in terms of form, was a part of the al-Shirazi aspirations, it made it impossible for the organization to play a basic role in the council. The organization did not enjoy favor within it, as much as others did, from the point of view of representation. The council's leadership was composed of 10 members, three of them from the al-Da'wah Party, and three from the al-Mujahidin Movement, aside from Muhammad Baqir (its current president) and 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Hakim, both sons of Muhsin al-Hakim. At the foundation of the council, the organization was represented only by Muhsin al-Husayni. He is the council's official spokesman.

#### [Box 4]

##### AIDS

About three months ago, directly after the end of the Gulf War, the Italian authorities released two young Iraqis who belonged to the Islamic Action Organization, who had been arrested in the mid-eighties enroute to Spain, to carry out one of the military operations against Iraqi interests abroad. That was before the organization ceased its operations in Europe and world capitals.

The organization had demanded that they be transferred to another jail, because the AIDS disease was circulating in the prison where they were being held. The Italian authorities responded by releasing them, and were not content just to transfer them.

During the period of operations against Iraqi institutions outside of Iraq, the organization refused to carry out any operation against the West, "so that there would be no squandering of its efforts outside the true area of concern."

#### [Box 5]

##### Organization Representatives and Hadi al-Madrasi

The Islamic Action Organization is represented on the Joint Action Committee, which is composed of various Iraqi, nationalist, and Communist political parties, by Jawad Taqi (Abu-Amir). Its representative on the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq is Muhsin al-Musawi, in his first term. Hadi al-Madrasi refused to attend the council because, in his view, it does not constitute the desired thrust for Iraq, despite his having been invited by 'Ali Khamene'i and Shaykh 'Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. He rejects attending "so that we do not become mere officials." The Islamic Action Organization considers the Supreme Council a body that does not consult its membership, but rather, tells them what they must do.

Tape cassettes of al-Madrasi's guidance and instructions cannot be found in Iranian markets, and are not broadcast by Iranian radio, because he refuses to have his words and ideas censored, as others do, in accordance with Tehran's request.

In addition to Muhsin al-Musawi, Shaykh Kazim al-Saba'i, 'Abdallah al-Musawi, and Shaykh Muhsin al-Musawi [as published] continue to attend the council.

#### [Box 6]

##### Al-Shirazi

Ayatollah Muhammad al-Shirazi was born in al-Najaf in 1347 A.H. He migrated with his father, al-Mirza Mahdi (deceased), to Karbala' in 1356 A.H. He studied with his father, and with Muhammad Hadi al-Maylani (deceased), and gained the degree of independent judgment [al-ijtihad]. He assumed the position of source [of emulation] after the death of his father in 1380 A.H. He began to teach Islamic jurisprudence and principles [al-Usul] in the theological seminary in Karbala', and from there he went to Kuwait and, later, to the theological seminary in Qom, where he continues his pedagogical and intellectual activities today. He exercises his leadership efforts as one of the sources [of emulation] to whom various Islamic countries refer, concerning Islamic legal opinions and emulation [al-taqlid].

He has numerous publications in many educational fields. In Islamic jurisprudence, he has AL-MAWSU'AH AL-ISTIDLALIYAH (AL-FIQH), in 110 volumes, whose compilation began in 1370 A.H. It was first published in Iraq, Kuwait, and Iran, and then a new edition was published in Beirut.

He has also published ISAL AL-TALIB ALI AL-MUKASIB (SHARH KITAB AL-MUKASIB LI AL-SHAYKH AL-ANSARI) in 61 volumes.

With regard to al-Usul, he has published KITAB AL-USUL (BAHTH AL-KHARIJ); MUBAHITH AL-ALFAZ; and, KITAB AL-USUL (SHARH KIFAIYAH AL-USUL) in five volumes.

In addition, he has written about politics, economics, social affairs, and government in Iran.

##### Drizzle and Floods

The second point of dispute pertained to the form of government in Iraq, after the overthrow of Saddam Husayn. The Islamic Action Organization considers the question to be premature, and that it should not be proposed at the present time, since the situation must be changed from drizzle to floods. While the organization considers the present stage to be the rain stage, after having passed through the drizzle stage, it is necessary first to get to the torrential stage.

Discussion at the present stage about the future form of government is, from the organization's point of view, considered "a revolutionary luxury, which is not

required," despite the fact that it is desired, because there would be an Islamic government in Iraq, which would be called on to select the leader and the source [of emulation] through struggle and jihad in the Iraqi arena. The leader or source [of emulation] might be from the Islamic Action Organization, or from the Islamic Movement, and the matter of determining the form of government would be left to the people. If the people chose a non-Islamic government, "we would not advise against it."

Imam al-Shirazi, as well as Ayatollah al-Madrasi, has stressed not imposing a guardianship by anyone on anyone. Al-Shirazi said that even if we went to Iraq, and overthrew the regime and Saddam Husayn by military force, we must not impose an Islamic government, but rather, we should have the people select the form and the individuals who will govern, provided that that be done in a purely democratic atmosphere. Even if the people are content to establish an Islamic government, there must be the participation of others, who must have freedom of action, and freedom to express their views and positions. They must have their newspapers and radio. The vital question is that no one should be allowed to silence anyone at all.

The organization considers that if it were possible to have one Islamic ruler [wali faqih] on the Islamic world level, "this is something good and desirable." But, with deference to the special identities of Islamic peoples and groupings, it would be more appropriate to select a Islamic rule through jihad in all areas, within the context of general Islamic jihad, which a single Islamic ruler would direct. In the organization's view, this "would be the ultimate aspiration." This matter has constituted one of the points of dispute with certain Iranians, and has resulted in negative positions by these quarters in their dealings with the organization, after these quarters resorted to charging as infidels all those who would not be committed to or endorse the concept of supreme jurisconsult rule, in accordance with Khomeyni's proposal.

#### Closed Doors

Perhaps one of the points of dispute was the issue of the continuation of the war between Iran and Iraq, which Imam al-Shirazi opposed, stressing that the military solution would not produce any result. No, contrary to Khomeyni's counseling from the beginning of the war, Iran should expel Saddam's military positions, which were occupied at the beginning of the war, but stop at that, without entering Iraqi territory to overthrow Saddam Husayn's regime, because the international balance, as al-Shirazi added, "would not permit a blow at Saddam's regime by Islamic arms." It was rumored that these words caused considerable tension, despite the fact that military developments on the Iraqi-Iranian war front confirmed the truth of al-Shirazi's expectations. These words led to an increased widening of the gap between Iran on one hand, and al-Shirazi and the Islamic Action Organization on the other.

For these reasons, the organization refused to participate in the Badr Corps, composed of Iraqis who fought side by side with Iranians against the Iraqi Army. Its operations were concentrated inside Iraq against symbols of the regime and its institutions, as opposed to the activities of other factions, which were engaged in the oven of war on the front.

In this regard, the Islamic Action Organization stressed that overthrowing the regime in Iraq must be done by the Iraqi people, and that the Islamic movement and revolution must deepen and escalate the struggle to bring down the regime, pointing out that each ally, either from non-Iraqi movements or from allied international movements, must exert its efforts to heat up the revolution internally.

There is another point of dispute pertaining to expression of opinions, and making decisions concerning those opinions. The organization has taken it upon itself to express its views publicly. It resists any means of dictation and direction. As its leadership circles state, it wants "to prevent losing its identity." It prefers to state its views for all the world to know, even though that can cost dearly.

As regards the fundamental point of dispute, that concerns supreme jurisconsult rule (See box entitled Supreme Jurisconsult Rule With Al-Shirazi). In this regard, the dispute might revolve around the following question: rule by a supreme jurisconsult or by more than one jurisconsult?

In conclusion, the Islamic Action Organization has its special and independent directions and theses, and considers revolutionism to be one of its means, because "profit is preferable to litigation," and revolutionism does not mean military or armed action. Note that one of the revolutionary means, which is followed according to the two al-Madrasi brothers' views, "when all doors are blocked," is what it has been, and still is, doing in Iraq, inasmuch as the organization considers most of the Iraqi factors to be vicious in opposition to the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn.

#### [Box 7]

##### Jurist Rule With Al-Shirazi

Muhammad al-Shirazi was the first to receive Imam Khomeyni in Iraq in 1963, after he was expelled from Iran to Turkey, and then to al-Najaf, while others opposed him. In 1983, under the title of Advisory Council of Sources of [Emulation], al-Shirazi sent a call to many diverse jurisconsults, challenging the attempts of Khomeyni's supporters and students to confirm any absolute jurist rule.

In this call, al-Shirazi proposed forming a council of jurisconsults, assembling all the "al-mujtahidin al-taqallidin" in Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, and Lebanon, to form an advisory council, which would formulate decisions for all Muslims in the world, with Iran as a part of it. The

jurisconsults would elect one of their number as leader. This leader would be obliged to consult with the rest of the jurisconsults in drawing up strategies. The council would be the leadership of the Islamic community.

If there was a need for a decision regarding Lebanon, for example, it would be referred to the council, which would decide what should be done. In his proposal, al-Shirazi said that if the leaders differed, then necessarily, the rank and file would differ, and fight. Therefore, the council would resolve this problem, by virtue of its having firsthand experience in political and legal action, as well as political and leadership competence.

Al-Shirazi also called for the participation of as many sources [of emulation] as possible in leading the Islamic community, and asked that they not distance themselves from political reality. He stressed that it was incomprehensible for a source [of emulation] to have many emulators and not make use of their efforts.

Al-Shirazi emphasized that the experience of revolutions and conflicts confirm that successes have only come in agreement with the authorities of the 'ulema. The proof is the al-'Ashrin Revolution, which united all sources [of emulation] in al-Najaf and al-Kazimiyah.

The shah was only deposed with the agreement of the sources [of emulation]; Imam Khomeyni was not alone. All sources [of emulation] took to the field, and defended al-Shirazi by force against the late Shia'tamdari, who was the one that issued an Islamic ruling in 1963, after Khomeyni was expelled. He was not touched because of this ruling, because the constitution prevented injuring an ayatollah. In the period from 1963 up to the revolution, al-Shirazi continued to oppose the shah, saying: "I live in Iran, and I have a special way, different from Khomeyni's way, who lives abroad."

In brief, the dispute between Khomeyni and al-Shirazi was based on democracy, in the modern concept, or consultation in the ancient term, inasmuch as al-Shirazi says that supreme jurisconsultation means consultation of the jurisconsults and, based on that, he demanded an advisory council of jurisconsults of various nationalities.

### **RCC Postpones Collection of Loan Installments**

JN0407112091 Baghdad Republic of Iraq Radio  
Network in Arabic 1030 GMT 4 Jul 91

[Excerpt] The Revolution Command Council [RCC] decided to postpone until 1992 collection of the outstanding Real Estate Bank loan installments due in 1991, and to change the due dates of subsequent installments accordingly. The RCC has also decided to exempt the delayed payments from the interest due for the period of delay. [passage omitted]

### **Paper Stresses 'Pressing Need' To Lift Blockade**

JN0707105591 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0620 GMT  
7 Jul 91

[Text] The newspaper AL-QADISIYAH affirms that the continuation of the unjust blockade against the Iraqi people is the crime of the age against humanity.

In an editorial published today, the paper adds that U.S. President George Bush and all of his Western allies who profess to be civilized human rights advocates are well aware of the magnitude of the sufferings of the Iraqi people due to this blockade. They are wagering on this dirty card to undermine this people's will, steadfastness, and support for their historic leadership, represented by symbol leader Saddam Husayn, the paper adds.

The paper indicates that the United States, which reared its ugly and morose head when it began this hideous crime against the Iraqi people amid a suspicious and condemnable silence by the world community, is currently staging various kinds of maneuvers to ensure the continuation of the unjust economic blockade.

The paper stresses that now, more than ever before—against the background of this hideous crime and the human catastrophe threatening the Iraqi people—the world is called upon to make concerted efforts, raise its voice to lift this unjust blockade, and make Washington refrain from using this dirty weapon in the implementation of its conspiracy and scheme for dominating the region.

The paper adds: There is a pressing need for the total lifting of this blockade so that Iraq and its people can recuperate and continue the process of building and reconstruction.

Concluding its editorial, the paper says that while demanding an end to this crime, the Iraqi people are not begging to anyone. They are asking for a natural right enshrined in heavenly faiths, human values, and international charters and norms. He who objects to this right stands against God, humanity, and civilization.

### **Merchants Role Dealing With Blockade Discussed**

91AE0429A Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic  
15 May 91 p 4

[An open letter by Diya' Hasan]

[Text] Salutations, a letter to you is urgently needed today, although not for the purpose of imploring you to rise to the level of national responsibility. I reckon that many of you already have this sentiment. Rather, the conditions of the country, which is wiping away the effects of the unjust affliction imposed on it by its well-known enemies, necessitate reminding you of your responsibilities to be merciful toward your people and to support the state as it seeks to provide suitable conditions for the restoration of vigor and well-being to the

national economy under the circumstances of the hostile blockade that has been imposed on our dear people.

My letter does not stem from a feeling that any profit or gain on your part is excessive, because that is your right in the free trade for which the state has amply provided, having eased many restrictions and eliminated many financial obligations which you used to pay to the treasury, especially custom duties. Rather, my letter to you is based on a firm conviction that you are a part of the people of this country and are concerned for them. I hope that I am justified in assuming that you are sensitive to the onerous circumstances being borne with difficulty by low-income citizens as a result of the aggression and destruction. This alone places responsibility on you to be in step with state measures to ease economic constrictions. That is not difficult for you. Rather, it is within your power. It will cost you only the assumption of responsibility for ensuring that your earnings from commerce and from agricultural and livestock projects are not excessive in this stage. This is a key to containing the price increases weighing heavily on most of the good, faithful, loyal people of Iraq. I reckon that most everyone realizes that the measures taken recently by the state to supply many needs had to inevitably have a major effect on all production and commercial activity, as reflected in oppressive price levels for the people to date. This applies particularly to the provision of electricity and fuel, which are two of the main causes for the emergence of this phenomenon. However, prices did not drop at the expected rate. Also, because of the greed of many who entered production and commercial activity in the circumstances of the Iranian-Iraqi War, and in the difficult, economic circumstances in Iraq after the war, prices dropped in a very limited fashion and only for several days, to increase again subsequently. This is perceived by one who follows the market's activity. They were contrary to the state's ongoing measures to create better living conditions for citizens. The matter was of no concern to merchants and owners of production projects, most of whom have continued to hunt for opportunities offered by shortages to increase their profit rates by raising prices, while Iraq and the government face international pressures threatening many boycott measures and the starvation of the people.

Those who do business in the market and influence its activity are called upon to be very heedful of the fact that the opportunities available to them in commercial and production activity are based solely on the state's feeling and conviction that they attach as much value to the rights of citizenship as they do to the duties that citizenship imposes on them, especially in the extraordinary circumstances being experienced by the homeland.

It is axiomatic that rights entail duties. One who fulfills one's duties now should appraise their value and role in terms of lightening the burden on the people. Such a person is the rear guard in the state's clear effort to accelerate the process of getting out from under the weight of the current situation.

I remember well that the commercial houses and the project owners used to be fondly and honorably remembered. Moreover, in the past, they held the trust of our people and those who considered them safe harbors that embrace the needy and react positively to one facing an ordeal. I believe that the situation has changed only because of these exceptional circumstances, which have given others, who possess neither this conscience nor these noble traditions, the opportunity to enter the market and overturn concepts to exploit the circumstances of the previous war and then those of the aggressive war. Such persons are suddenly turning the market upside down, applying the principle of quick profit, at the people's expense, and opportunistically exploiting the country's circumstances to shape market conditions to yield them unlimited profits while imposing unbearable burdens on the citizens.

We estimate that there are many good people among merchants and project owners. However, their voices continue to be weak, and their rush to support the state's initiatives to restore price balance is unorganized. However, they can nonetheless say that, through willpower, they stuck together, blocked the price fraud occurring now, and stopped the opportunists by flooding the market with their stored goods, and even goods parked in hundreds of trucks now stopped at the entrances to the markets, while their drivers wait for the signal to offer their goods. The goal of the game of creating shortages in the market to increase prices and profits is well-known, as is that of middlemen who withhold the supply of goods if prices drop.

The country's circumstances amid the economic blockade place a two-fold responsibility on merchants and project owners to not only provide the materials needed by citizens to defeat the objectives of the foreign blockade, but to also take proper action to end the greed of those who do not accept reasonable profits and instead wrongly seek excessive profits. This does not apply [laysa 'asiyan] to the good merchants who are fulfilling their national role in our current circumstances. The maximum provision of goods to the markets will end the speculation of opportunists, who have debited iniquity to merchants and commerce, and error to owners of offices [masalih] and projects!

The time has come for the good merchants to make a statement that benefits their people and the future of Iraqi commercial activity.

They will never be forgotten for such a position. Rather, they will leave an illustrious mark on the history of Iraqi merchants.

Have we heard anything, or, more precisely, have we perceived a practical position that calms the market, screens out the opportunists, and consequently lends wings to the strengthening of the state's measures to reduce the pressure of price increases on Iraqis? This is

what we are waiting for today, not tomorrow. Let us make reasonable profits. Let us render a service to the people.

### Arab Agricultural Investments Encouraged

JN0907140991 Baghdad INA in Arabic 1110 GMT  
9 Jul 91

[Text] The Ministry of Agriculture and Irrigation has instructed its branches in the governorates to take the necessary measures to define the areas and locations of arable land that can be offered to Arab investors for agricultural ventures.

The ministry noted that the easing of requirements for investments on this land and the outlining of proposed formulas on the nature of investments are designed to give Arab investors the chance to contribute to agricultural development in Iraq.

These measures are intended to encourage Arab investment in the economic development process to support Arab economic integration; organize Arab investment in services, agricultural, industrial, and touristic projects; and to provide backing for these ventures.

### Paper Focuses on 'Full Cooperation' With UN Efforts

JN0107090991 Baghdad INA in Arabic 0635 GMT  
1 Jul 91

[Text] Baghdad, 1 Jul (INA)—The newspaper AL-QADISIYAH has said that Iraq is sincerely and seriously seeking to restore a normal situation to the region through full cooperation with the United Nations' efforts to implement the UN Security Council resolutions.

In its editorial today, the paper, an organ of the Defense Ministry, adds that the United States and its president are determined to continue the aggression against Iraq, and that Bush has not stopped making irresponsible threats that reflect an aggressiveness that is deeply rooted in the U.S. policy, particularly the current one, against Iraq and its people and the Arab nation and its peoples.

The paper stresses that Iraq is aware of and realizes the reasons behind the hideous American aggressiveness against its existence and people. It will continue to expose the American aggressiveness before the world through its sincere efforts toward peace.

The paper accused the U.S. administration of fabricating incidents, leveling false accusations, insisting on harming Iraq's people and on directly interfering in its domestic affairs under all forms of pretexts and justifications, and seeking, through a dirty war, to fragment Iraq's national unity.

The paper affirms that Iraq's people, who enjoy the solidarity of all the world's free people with their cause against the American aggressiveness, will not relinquish

their principles and values of living in dignity and freedom. They will pursue, under the leadership of President Saddam Husayn, the process of reconstruction and of making peace in the region.

### Israeli Journalist Analyzes Nuclear Capability

[Analysis by Ze'ev Schiff]

TA0107171991 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew  
1 Jul 91 p 1

[Text] Today, the chances are very slim that the United Nations delegation will locate the Iraqi centrifuge plant which produces enriched uranium for nuclear weapons. Without detailed intelligence information on the plant's location, any military action against Iraq will only be an act of punishment, unless large ground forces are sent to engage in broad searches throughout Iraq.

The impression is that the Iraqis are several steps ahead of the special United Nations delegation which was sent to impound all the nuclear fuel and other nuclear materials. The Iraqis claim that they wish to cooperate with the United Nations and the International Atomic Energy Agency, but, in fact, they are actually avoiding to fulfill the conditions. Baghdad did not report—as it was obligated to—on the uranium enrichment plant. Furthermore, it delayed and even prevented special visits by the supervisory delegation to the places it sought to visit.

The search is not for the atomic fuel which was in the two research reactors—one French and one Soviet. The United Nations delegation, in effect, already got hold of the 40 kg of atomic fuel at the nuclear research compound in Tawita, including radioactive fuel lying beneath the ruins in the wake of the bombings. A little over 12 kg of French-made uranium are 93 percent enriched and the rest of it, is Soviet-made and 80 percent enriched. The combined weight is indeed around 40 kilograms, as the Iraqis reported, but—since part of the uranium is not highly enriched—the quantity is estimated to be around 30 kg.

The International [Atomic Energy] Agency knew about this quantity before the war and there are no surprises here. The main difficulty will be in transporting the radioactive fuel from Iraq. The French have volunteered to handle this complex and dangerous operation. Part of it will be transported by air and the radioactive fuel will be transported by ship. The Soviet Union has already agreed to France dealing with the atomic fuel which Moscow sold to Iraq.

The suspicion is that, in addition to this atomic fuel, Iraq built a plant to enrich uranium with thousands of centrifuges—and perhaps electro-magnetically as well, which is how the Americans produced the first atomic bombs during World War II. Even before the war, Israel discovered that Iraq was acquiring, in Europe, many centrifuges and special metal equipment to produce them in Iraq.

This information was corroborated, after the war, by the Iraqi scientist who defected to the United States. Apparently, the scientist pointed out sites where the Iraqis were likely to store the equipment, but Baghdad used stalling tactics to be able to move it out of there. In one case, the delegation arrived at a site that had been emptied the night before; in another case, the visit was prevented, but American satellites discovered a hasty transfer of a large quantity of equipment; and last week, Iraqi soldiers fired in the air to prevent the delegation from entering into a military facility.

These latest incidents strengthen Israel's claim that the International Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty—which it has refused to join—cannot prevent the secret production of this kind of weaponry. Iraq, on the other hand, was a signatory to the treaty, but its signature was worthless. Moreover, under the treaty's auspices, Iraq was eligible for cooperation in the nuclear field from international organizations and various countries. These countries today find themselves indirect partners in the Iraqi atomic plan.

As a result of Iraqi evasion of Security Council conditions, the sanctions will continue, but what worries Israel more is Baghdad's nuclear plan. Among the experts, there is a debate over the extent to which Iraq has succeeded in progressing, but—in any case—it is clear that the Iraqi nuclear threat has not disappeared, and that Israel's suspicions were justified.

## ISRAEL

### Polls Show Majority Support Alon Plan

91AE0443A Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew  
7 Jun 91 p 4

[Article by Roni Shaqed: "Poll: Majority Is for the Alon Plan"]

[Text] Even though today it draws no special attention in discussions about a solution to the problem of the territories, the 'Alon Plan is the one preferred by the Israelis for solving the problem.

That statistic comes from a public opinion poll conducted by Professor 'Eliahu Katz and Dr. Shmu'el Shai of the Gutman Institute for Applied Social Research in Jerusalem. The poll was conducted within the framework of comprehensive research into mutual relations between the leadership and the public in everything having to do with decision-making on the peace process issue.

The poll shows that 24 percent of the Jewish people in Israel prefer the 'Alon Plan over any other plan, and 57 percent would be ready to accept it. The transfer solution, it turns out, is the plan preferred by 19 percent of Israelis, and 43 percent of those asked expressed a willingness to accept it as a solution. That is, were we in

a situation in which the transfer option was being considered, almost half of those polled sees it as an acceptable program.

Reminder: The "'Alon Plan," the plan of the man who was deputy prime minister and foreign minister, Yig'al 'Alon, of blessed memory, is based on borders that provide the maximum security for the State of Israel and for a minimum of the non-Jewish population within those borders. In that plan the Jordan is established as the eastern border of Israel. A strip from the river westward, between 10 to 15 km wide, would be annexed to the State of Israel while the areas of Palestinian Arab population on the West Bank not under Israeli sovereignty would be split up and granted autonomy.

The new poll was conducted within the framework of research that began a year and a half ago under the auspices of the American MacArthur Fund, which deals with issues of peace and international relations. It was intended to find out to what extent leaders are influenced by public opinion and, in general, what was the influence of "public opinion" on the general public. Within the framework of that research, three public opinion polls were conducted: in July 1990, in November 1990, and in May of this year. Eight possible solutions to the problem of the territories and the Palestinian problem were presented to a sample of 1,200 men and women representing the adult Jewish population in Israel.

The solutions that were presented: the 'Alon Plan, transfer, autonomy, annexation without rights and with rights, federation of the territories with Jordan, unilateral withdrawal, and a Palestinian state. The polls indicate that 61 percent prefer solutions that cut off the Arab population in the territories: a Palestinian state, unilateral withdrawal, federation with Jordan, the 'Alon Plan, and transfer. But, on the other hand, 54 percent prefer solutions involving control over the territories—annexation, autonomy, and transfer (the idea of transfer permits holding onto the territories and severance from the Arab population within them at the same time).

"The Israeli dilemma regarding the problem of the territories was underscored by the differences of opinion in the poll. There are people for whom holding onto the territories is the stronger desire, while for others the desire to live without the Arabs of the territories is stronger—but they all experience a conflict," says Dr. Shmu'el Shai. "Because of this dilemma," he explains, "we can understand the support for the 'Alon Plan: It contains both concession and security—both the desire not to live with the Arabs of the territories in one country and also not to be entirely cut off from the territories."

Seventy-five percent of the MK's, from all factions, agreed to be interviewed for the poll and to respond to the same questions asked of the public.

Half of them supported a federation of Jordan and the territories. Thirty-nine percent supported the 'Alon Plan.

Thirty percent supported autonomy. Twenty-eight percent supported a Palestinian state. Twenty percent supported unilateral withdrawal. Twenty percent supported annexation with rights; 10 percent, annexation without rights; and 10 percent supported the transfer solution.

Dr. Shai: "MK support of compromise solutions—autonomy and the 'Alon Plan—lags behind that of the public. Similarly the readiness to accept the idea of transfer among the MK's is less than in the general public. It seems that the public relates to the programs according to their content while the MK's are also influenced by the political and historical coloration of the proposed solutions."

[Shaqed] Does the Knesset influence public opinion or is it rather that the leadership is influenced by public opinion?

[Shai] Dr. Kissinger said in his day that the public cannot make decisions, but only set limits for its leaders. It seems that Israeli public opinion has placed a limit in the direction of solutions that aim at big concessions, what are termed by the public as leftist solutions. The leadership, whose job it is to come up with solutions, rejects the radical rightist decisions—transfer, or solutions from the radical left—unilateral withdrawal.

A kind of guardianship game has been created between the leadership and the public. Public opinion protects the left flank, keeping the country from being drawn to the left, while the MK's protect the right flank, preventing an erosion to solutions such as transfer.

[Shaqed] Has the Gulf war had an effect on public opinion?

[Shai] Generally speaking we can say that Israeli public opinion is stable in everything having to do with a solution to the problem of the territories. There are merely certain temporary movements, especially during the period of the wave of terror. But it seems that the Gulf war has had no effect at all on the issue. We can see that when we compare data from the present poll to those of the one conducted a year ago.

The war influenced the preferred ways for arriving at peace: Support for a regional conference, for example, rose, as did that for direct negotiations with the Palestinian residents of the territories, but willingness to negotiate with the PLO declined. Support for an international conference remained the same.

[Shaqed] Is there no public support for the government's autonomy plan?

[Shai] Apparently the support is rather weak as only 15 percent chose autonomy as their preference. But public opinion researchers know that public opinion has a certain flexibility and that its limits can be estimated. When we look into the acceptability of the autonomy solution, it turns out that 57 percent are willing to accept that solution.

### IDF Chief Places Emphasis on Ground Forces

91AE0446C Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 7 Jun 91  
p b4

[Article by 'Amos Gilbo'a: "Baraq Places Emphasis on Ground Forces"]

[Text] The hundred-day honeymoon in the tenure of Lieutenant General 'Ehud Baraq as chief of staff is not yet over and there is already a sense of direction. The IDF [Israeli Defense Forces] has a fresh color, a new calling card. It is in the nature of things that the main media's focus is on enticing riveting trivialities and occasionally even on important ones: One way or the other IDF Radio is needed in whatever new organizational framework is worked out for it: Why was the deputy brigade commander in the Beq'a removed? Why did they do to Gen. Doron Rubin what they did? Why did they bring Gen. 'Emanuel Sagel back to the army and appoint him commander of the Ground Forces Command? And why and how much? Small snippets that will always be around.

In the end, it is a question of a shell that hints at the content that the chief of staff is formulating. And the substance that exists, is very promising. That is the main thing, that is the real security that the people of Israel will feed on in the future. How exactly will the IDF look in terms of its force structure, in the correct balance of its fighting equipment, in its battle philosophy, and in the rabbits that it pulls out of the hat on the future battlefield. Beyond the general statement that this will be a leaner, meaner army, there is more under wraps than has been revealed and will likely remain that way more or less in the future, too. What is abundantly clear is that one of the main emphases will be on the ground forces, no less than on the air force, whose exclusive role in interdiction and providing the decisive blow, will continue to exist.

These days the chief of staff has actually begun a series of discussions to be concluded in the near future on expanding the authority of the Ground Forces Command. At one time they were talking about how to reduce its authority, how to leave it weak. Now times have changed. This is an important subject, a very important subject, because it is an inseparable part of the substance that will determine the appearance of the IDF's ground forces in the future.

The idea of establishing one command for the IDF's four ground force branches—armor, infantry and paratroopers, artillery and engineering—was born after the Yom Kippur war, and died; it was resuscitated at the end of the 70's and again expired. The organizational and operational concept behind the idea was that ground combat is not done separately by each branch, but is an integrated kind of combat involving all of them. Therefore one command has to be responsible for building the branches, for developing their war materiel and equipment, for formulating an integrated battle strategy and passing it along in drills and training to both soldiers and

commanders, for an overall view of the battlefield and its requirements, and for setting the overall budget and its distribution. No more scattering of authority, but concentrating it.

Intra-Jewish squabbling and typical military conservatism managed to kill the idea until, in the summer of 1983, it was mandated by Defense Minister Moshe Arens, and the new creature was born. Lt. Gen. Dan Shomron was the first commander of the Ground Forces Command and struggled for its very existence; Gen. Amir Drori, its second commander, laid solid foundations; Gen. Uri Sagi, the third commander, established its structure; and now Gen. Emanuel Saqel, the new commander, intends to strengthen the grip and increase its authority.

In what direction?

First of all it must be stressed that the Hebrew name of the command indicates the branches and not the forces. The commands—Northern, Central, and Southern—are the ones that operate and command the forces in war and in on-going security operations. The Ground Forces Command, in this sense, is not a branch like the Air Force or the Navy. The latter both train their forces for war, and command them in war and in on-going security operations. The Americans have something similar. Their regional commands are the ones that command the forces—and not only on the ground. Look at the Schwarzkopf assessment.

Then what are the directions for expanding the authority of the Ground Forces Command in order to make it more efficient, to strengthen it and also to save on complements and money?

- First, to reduce the organizational and command functions of the branches, leaving them almost with only the professional responsibility for the technological level: training the crews and formulating their concept of operations; characterizing the operational requirements for their war materiel, and so forth.
- To remove from the Training Department all those functions that do not involve the overall and inter-Branch IDF level and hand them over to the Ground Forces Command (for example, most of the combat strategy department apart from command and control topics, inter-branch operations, etc.).
- To grant the Ground Forces Command control over the distribution of the manpower slice allocated to the four ground forces. Today the manpower department allocates those slices and determines exactly how they will be divided.
- To grant the Ground Forces Command some control in determining complements, especially of materiel that it is not responsible for. Today the planning branch is the one that sets all the complements.

Those are the general guidelines; discussions and debates are still going on. Of course there exists the danger that

the Ground Forces Command could get fat and swollen from too much authority. But one thing is certain: There is nobody better than Gen. Emanuel Saqel to head the Ground Forces Command. As a man, as a commander, and as an organizer we can only say that it is good to have someone like him.

#### New Recruit Deficiencies, Improvement Methods

91AE0446D Tel Aviv BAMAHAHE in Hebrew  
22 May 91 pp 10, 11

[Article by Yo'av Kaspi: "Two-Thirds of Infantry Recruits Are Below Minimum Ability"]

[Text] In the chapter devoted to the issue of physical fitness in the Agranat Commission Report, it was unequivocally stated that units that performed regular physical training before the war suffered fewer combat losses. The report details various instances in which it was proven that soldiers who suffered from a lack of minimum physical fitness were unsuccessful in carrying out elementary battle activities. Lacking that fitness, armor soldiers who were unable to drag their wounded comrades on their backs and escape from the burning tank, took bullets in the back.

Battle fitness is not a sport carried out for the sake of enjoyment. These examples prove that, at least in the army, it is a matter of life and death, the key to the survivability of the soldier in combat. "If motivation was a muscle," says Lieutenant Colonel Hayim, commander of the battle fitness school, "the body would be able to work forever. But, as it happened for example on Yom Kippur, units lacking that fitness were unable to continue functioning after seven or eight days of fighting."

According to Col. Shlomo, head of the battle fitness department, the qualities required of a fighter are professional knowledge, motivation, and battle fitness. The three are intertwined, he says. Vietnam saw the arrival of a reliable American army with a high degree of skill, but it failed for lack of motivation. Exactly so is the infantryman, who with all the professional knowledge and motivation in the world, will be unsuccessful in attaining his goal without the fitness required to make it over the mountain.

The concept of battle fitness in the IDF was exclusively theirs and does not exist in any other army in the world. While the Americans and the British develop their physical fitness as an element unto itself, with us physical fitness is understood only as one component of battle fitness, which integrates physical fitness with combat reliability. Physical fitness according to the IDF is really battle fitness, which includes the ability to get through obstacles, hitting the target after exertion, hand to hand combat capability and swimming. Without the ability to get through obstacles, the soldier will find it hard to navigate under pressure—even if he has high physical fitness.

Despite the fact that there are indications of an increase in the rate of passage of the fitness exams in all age groups, the periodic fitness tests still show a low fitness level in the IDF.

But the IDF is not unusual on the matter of fitness. In this area, too, the IDF simply reflects overall Israeli society. What can you do—the Israeli people are a spoiled people! Physical activity is not their highest priority. “It is a question,” says Col. Shlomo, “of tradition, culture, and customs. Bush, for example, does lots of sports and until his last heart attack, used to project the image of a sportsman. Where, among us, would you find a sports enthusiast prime minister? For many people, being involved in sports in Israel is almost shameful. A large part of the senior officer corps is unaware of the problem and does not put physical fitness in the proper perspective.” Only Doron Rubin became famous when he ran the length of the coastal highway. A basketball game can often be seen under his office in the municipal building.

“The Americans make sure they participate in sports, even in the battle situation in the Gulf. With us, a large part of our physical reserves were used up even before the first shot was fired.” But we have already said within the IDF that defective fitness is critical in wartime.

The problems begin with the youth. “The physical state of our youth when they are called up into the IDF,” says Col. Shlomo, “is very serious. Many arrive with poor physical fitness—these youth join up with the fighting units, infantry and armor, and fail simple physical tests.” More than two thirds of the field unit recruits today do not meet the minimum physical requirements for a combat soldier.

One of the first activities carried out by all recruits when they arrive on base is the Bar-’Or test, intended to measure the inductee’s level of physical fitness. The requirements of the test are really not high. In order to get a passing mark (55 and above) the infantry recruit must run 2,000 meters in about 8 ½ to 9 minutes and do about 10 pushups and about 50 situps in a minute. (For the sake of comparison, in the qualifying exams at the end of the 12th grade, the inductee is required, in order to earn all points, to run 2,000 meters in less than 6:45 minutes). Many of the infantry draftees do not meet these requirements. In the mobile branches (armor and artillery), the requirements are even lower—2,000 meters in 9:30 minutes, 6-8 pushups and 45 situps in a minute. Many (depending on the call-up cycle) of the armor and artillery recruits fail this test on the day of their call-up.

A survey conducted recently among 1,492 new draftees in eight recruit bases found that 60 percent of the youth worked out before call-up, but only 20 percent worked out seriously. “Serious physical training,” says Col. Shlomo, has to be done for at least a year and in a gradual, regular fashion. Most of the youth do ‘instant’ training in the month or month and a half before their

call-up. Sometimes this only causes them physical, especially orthopedic, damage. Mostly they run, without any instruction, along asphalt highways, sometimes with a knapsack full of stones on their back. Crazy training like that is likely to end up causing back problems, stress fractures and sometimes even permanent injury. I would rather the recruit candidate not train at all than train for a month before call-up. That kind of preparation is simply stupid and causes more harm than good.”

Serious training, Shlomo believes, has to begin in kindergarten, from year zero. He lays heavy blame on the educational establishment. “Throughout the world it is customary to give students at least five hours of phys ed a week. Here we barely give it two, and they are always the first ones to suffer cuts.” Precisely in the eighth year, towards call-up, when the youth have to be at the height of their abilities, exercises are stopped after half a year. In 15 percent of the schools they are stopped in the month of January. In more than 50 percent, by April—and that is when the call-ups do not start before August.

The IDF, of course, cannot permit itself a combat soldier with that kind of fitness. Therefore passing the Bar-’Or test is a condition for passing at the end of the recruit period. But the requirements for an infantryman are much higher than those of the Bar-’Or test. The accepted instrument for measuring the fitness of the infantryman is the company test, which includes running 5,000 meters with weapon and equipment packs and firing after exertion.

Statistic: In the company test given at the end of the March recruit cycle in 1990, even paratroopers, Giv’ati, Golani, and Nahal recruits failed. The armor and artillery units’ results also showed ability at the intermediate level and below. The results of firing after exertion were even worse, with the average oscillating between 3 and 4.5 hits per 10 bullets.

Those results, it must be remembered, were achieved at the end of the recruit period, when the recruits had half a year of regular physical activity behind them. When the soldier is on the line in the north, everyone knows that his fitness drops a lot. During the training periods they go back to regular activity again, and fitness gradually improves. In the north, the degree of fitness depends on the commanders, the platoon, and company commanders, and nobody requires regular activity of them.

Many other formations that deal with other elements of fighting ability try to learn and copy the setup for battle fitness and its structure. The secret to it is in that formation being a kind of corps in miniature. Just as the chief armor officer is responsible for all armor personnel, the head of the battle fitness department is responsible for the preparations, classification, integration, and professional guidance of all the physical training instructors scattered among all the IDF bases. But, while the armor man generally sits in an armor battalion, the physical training instructor is at a recruit base subordinate to the ground forces command. The commander of the recruit

base is the instructor's direct commander—but the head of the physical fitness department (who belongs to the training command) is the only one who can remove him from the base and put him somewhere else.

Physical fitness, they stress in the physical fitness department, is important not only from the operational point of view, but also for the soldier's mental health. No one likes to be dragged along in back, to suffer on treks or to feel that he has become a burden to the rest of his fellows.

In the words of Lt. Col. Hayim, commander of the battle fitness school, it used to be that every squad commander or sergeant who wanted to punish his troops would have them run. "In that sort of situation, physical fitness becomes traumatic. Instead of seeing running as part of his training as a fighter, the soldier sees it as punishment." Therefore today they try to emphasize the positive in physical fitness in order to change it from something frightening into something desirable.

"Despite that, I believe there is room for introducing sanctions for defective physical fitness into the courses and various training programs. It cannot be that during the recruit period, when the weapon is rusty, the soldier remains idle, but when the body is rusty, the man does not remain idle.

**Test of Fitness: 750 Regular Army Soldiers Failed Three Straight Times: Beginning Next Year, Passing the Physical Readiness Test Will Be a Condition for Earning Sport Points**

What is the story with regular army soldiers? While at age 20 the soldiers are still young and relatively healthy, at age 30 the years already begin to show. The hair falls and the stomach swells.

"Since regular army soldiers do not maintain their physical fitness on their own," says Col. Shlomo, "we came to the conclusion that we now have to force them into sports activities." General Staff order 15.0104 of 25 March 1988 says that every regular military person (officer and N.C.O.) has to pass regular physical fitness tests. But in the first year after the order went into effect, it turned out that some of the regular army soldiers did not even show up for the required test. Those that did go displayed a low level of fitness and indifference to the subject. It was therefore decided this year to turn participation in the test into a condition for receiving sports points. That means about 600 shekels per year given as a supplement to their salary to allow them to purchase sports clothes and equipment. Thus, this year, most of the regular army soldiers did show up for the test. But many others were exempt from the test because of medical problems.

But, and this is the sad part of the story, only a portion of the officers passed the test successfully. And, according to Col. Shlomo, this was when the requirements were ridiculously easy. A 30-year old Lt. Col., for example, has to run 2,000 meters in 10 minutes and do six pushups and 45 situps in one minute. "Ten minutes

is normal walking speed; I would expect all of them to pass the test without any problems."

As part of the campaign for fitness on the part of the regular army soldiers, passing the physical fitness test will constitute a condition for promotion in rank, from Second Lieutenant through Colonel. But even here only a part of the 4,900 regular army soldiers who took the test last year passed it. Those who failed came back two weeks later for a second or third try. If they failed here, too, they had to take a special course in Training Base 8, where they were taught the basics of physical fitness, such as proper nutrition. Seven hundred and fifty-three soldiers had to go through this kind of workshop last year.

"It is all a matter of awareness," says Col. Shlomo. In the American army it is a matter of course that anyone who flunks the fitness test has three months to get back into shape. If he fails, he is drummed out of the service. That is part of the sports and fitness culture. "In the IDF today we are still far from the point of removing officers for deficiencies in fitness, but starting next year passing the fitness test will be a precondition for getting the sports points. Participation alone will no longer be enough; passing will be required.

**MK Ze'evi on Water Use, Environment**

91AE0433B Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 3 Jun 91  
p 10

[Article by Rehav'am Ze'evi: "The Last River"]

[Text] Eretz-Israel is a small country, which contains a broad range of landscapes and natural values, but in niggardly portions—little, very little. This is also the case as regards rivers and streams. We had only two rivers—the Jordan and the Yarkon. The Yarkon was taken to the Negev and the Jordan has shrunk. The coastal streams were long ago channeled into the irrigation pipes.

The fate of the Jordan River also was not good. In our great thirst in an arid and developing country, we sought to put it into a canal that would take its waters southward ("the National Carrier"). This project began in the 1950's near the Daughters of Jacob Bridge and Kfar Hanassi. But then came the Syrian disturbances, and the Jordan continued to flow to the Kinneret, and the water for the Carrier is pumped from there. The hand of the Almighty, perhaps, left us an enchanting part of the mountainous Jordan, from the Daughters of Jacob Bridge to the Kinneret, which flows in an ancient natural landscape. The people of Kfar Hanassi are now seeking to take it from us in order to generate electricity cheaply.

If this project is completed, it will leave behind a wound in the ancient natural landscape and the loss of unique landscape values. This damage will be irreversible, and all the enthusiasts of Eretz-Israel and its lovers, we and our descendants, will be losers with no remedy from the creation of this fact.

The researchers of the Jordan through the generations, beginning with the traveler from Bordeaux in 333, through the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela in the 12th century and to the scouts of the 19th century—the Irish Costigan, the British Molineaux, the American Lynch, and the Scottish McGregor (“Rob Roy”), found the Jordan to be relatively large, strongly flowing and raging, with rapids and strength. They had seen larger rivers in their own lands, but still were thrilled by the sight of the Jordan. It was precisely the Zionist realization that brought the diminishing of the Jordan and its shrinking, by exploiting its waters for irrigation.

There is a constant battle between the lovers of nature, the romantics, the people of environmental quality and the enthusiasts of the landscapes of the homeland, and those involved in development and settlement activity as regards the preservation of natural values. Minister of Agriculture Hayyim Giv’ati, of blessed memory, once told me: “What luck that we finished building the country before they invented the nature preserves...”

Giv’ati was right and also not right in saying that. The correct path is somewhere in the middle. But it seems to me that those involved in development have already done and created a lot beyond the necessary balance, and have damaged too many landscape values. Their argument that “every dollar is dear” has not been proven, because the power station that is to be erected in Kfar Hanassi will generate less than one percent of the electricity consumed in the country.

The legal authorities were not on their guard and were not sufficiently vigilant when they allowed the construction of the station. Only the Society for the Protection of Nature foresaw the expected damages and was consistent in its opposition. But even if the permits have been granted, is it not our right to “think it out” again? There is also a legal opinion that argues that the construction of this station is an illegal act.

It is too bad that in this debate there were those who attacked the kibbutz movement and accused it of greed, and that there also were those who said that the standard of living of Kfar Hanassi should not be raised at the expense of all of us. These are superfluous, evil words, because the kibbutz movement has established pioneering enterprises for all of us, settled the borders, contributed an enormous contribution to the security of Israel, and provided a line of outstanding defenders of nature such as ‘Azarya Alon. Kibbutz Kfar Hanassi was established in the place of a military position on the Syrian front.

The subject is worthy of being placed again on the government’s agenda, so that we will not sin by inflicting hasty and terrible damage on landscape values, without ever being able to correct the distortion. We must remember that the Jordan is the river of Israel, and that it is also the last river.

### Drone Factory Manager Interviewed

91AE0430A Tel Aviv HA’ARETZ in Hebrew 24 May 91  
p 3c

[Interview with Dr. David Harari, general director of Israel’s unmanned aerial vehicle project, by Avi Genaour, 24 May 1991, in Dr. Harari’s office] (txt)[Text] This Sunday, Defense Minister Moshe Arens will award the Israel Prize for Marketing to Dr. David Harari, general director of the aircraft industry’s “Malat” (acronym for “unmanned aerial vehicle”) project, which manufactures unmanned planes. The prize is being given to Harari because of the achievements of “Malat,” which has succeeded in putting a new product into international markets against tough competition, and has attained considerable export growth within a short time. “Malat’s” marketing network spreads over five continents today, and its sales grew from \$26 million in 1988, to \$86 million in 1990. The ratio of sales per worker reached \$330,000, and the combination of forecasting market developments and of accurate market strategy has expressed itself in the project’s continuous growth.

This story might sound almost obvious, but it is not every day that somebody receives a marketing prize for an arms sale. In courses on marketing and business administration, of necessity they do not teach how to sell small unmanned planes and market their systems to foreign states and armies, nor do transactions of this kind exactly fit the interpretation commonly taught in school.

There is more than one famous Harari in the aircraft industry. One is ‘Ovadya Harari, the engineer who headed the Lavi project, and today is director of the aircraft industry’s “Lahav” enterprise, located in Lod.

Dr. David Harari’s and Ovadya Harari’s histories are similar. Both were born in Egypt and studied at the University of Paris. Today they sit in neighboring offices. In Dr. Harari’s office yesterday, we asked him why the project had received the prize for marketing:

[Harari] Before we enter the realm of marketing, I should mention that when we first entered the age of the small unmanned plane after the Yom Kippur War, 15 or 16 years ago, we had to answer the Israeli Army’s (IDF) operational needs, to develop an instrument that would enable it to receive data from areas guarded by missiles, without endangering the lives of pilots. The IDF wanted us to supply it with a system that would supply accurate information in real-time. Until then, there were no similar combat means in the world. We began working on the idea in 1974, and in 1976 we had already received the first contract from the Ministry of Defense. We made the first test flight in ’78, and in ’80 turned the first operational systems over to the IDF.

[Genaour] And how much does this cost the State?

[Harari] Compared to comparable projects in the United States, for example, this has really cost very little. Project

Aquila, the first American experiment in developing a small unmanned plane, cost them one and a half billion dollars until it failed and was halted. Development of the "Mazlat" (small unmanned aerial vehicle), on the other hand, cost some few tens of millions.

[Genaure] You received the prize for marketing, though, not for economy. So, how did you market the "Mazlat"?

[Harari] At first, we did not market it. We received an order from the Israeli Army, and supplied them with the merchandise. We had a customer who ordered a system, received it, used it, among other ways, in Operation "Peace for Galilee," and discovered that it granted them a new dimension in the battlefield. At this stage we began to market, because we had found a new sphere of business and had something with which we could leave the boundaries of the State, and search for new markets.

[Genaure] What segment of the market did you turn to?

[Harari] We did something that is not done with other systems. We had to look for customers who would be wise enough to understand what could be derived from the product we were suggesting to them, and we had to convince them to acquire one system and try it out, because in our business, nobody invests millions of dollars and develops a battle plan without testing the system first. This is what the Swiss did. They bought one system, tested it, were enthusiastic, and only then produced their own specifications. After we developed a specific product for them that answered their requirements, they ordered additional systems costing some tens of million dollars.

[Genaure] But your main market is in the United States.

[Harari] Right. The Americans did not show much interest in "Mazlat" at first, but during the war in Lebanon, they went through a trauma. The Syrians shot down four of their warplanes, because they did not have early information about the deployment of Syrian anti-aircraft in the region. After this event, the Americans understood that they lacked a means like the "Mazlat," and they began to examine our product. This began the process that ended in our producing the Pioneer systems for them, which proved themselves so successfully in the Gulf War.

[Genaure] What is unique about your marketing success?

[Harari] Our success in getting the systems we have developed to customers who were not aware that they needed the product. Today we are using much more conventional marketing methods than we used in the past. The customer already knows the product and the need for it, and because of the competition that is springing up in several places around the world, we have also turned more aggressive. Today, we are in stage B. The "Malat," which is the unmanned plane (not so small anymore), has proven its effectiveness, and modern armies understand that on the battlefield of the future they will need a product like this. But when there is

competition, you must create a marketing strategy just as you would for any other product.

[Genaure] How is the marketing plan of "Malat" constructed?

[Harari] We have people who travel all over the world to market the plane, making presentations and giving explanations. We create partnerships with local companies and also use means like trade advertising. We are speaking of a technological product, and so there is a need to provide servicing. Our people go out all over the world. The toughest problem is with the United States, because our systems are installed on American naval vessels, and we have to chase after them all over the world.

[Genaure] Do you employ marketing professionals?

[Harari] Not usually. In the aviation field, no one is strictly a marketer. You have to take professionals, for example, engineers who have learned business administration with an emphasis on marketing. The negotiations for sale of systems such as we offer usually last two or three years, and salesmen must be able to give solutions and answers on a technical level as well.

[Genaure] How did the Gulf war affect you?

[Harari] It mainly affected the Americans. This was the first time that the United States used our "Mazlats" operationally, and understood their advantages from practical experience. In the Gulf war, the Americans understood why the IDF had to use the "Mazlats" in Lebanon, in '82. Today, the Aircraft Industry is competing with McDonnell Douglas for the American Army's tender for supply of two experimental systems for a new generation of unmanned planes. Our planes are already in the United States, and the trials will begin on July 15. The one chosen will receive a tender to supply unmanned planes for about a billion dollars.

[Genaure] Why should the Americans give the work to an Israeli company?

[Harari] We are developing the "Mazlat" in partnership with an American company named TRW, which will actually serve as the main contractor for the project. The commitment will be between it and the American Army, not with us.

[Genaure] And if you lose. What civilian alternatives are there today for the products you are developing?

[Harari] I believe that in the civilian market there are many possibilities for the kind of unmanned planes we manufacture, especially for execution of missions that otherwise might endanger human life. For example, to measure the levels of pollution and radiation emissions in nuclear reactors. Together with the Center for Nuclear Research in Nahal Sorek, we have developed special trackers that can be used to keep watch over nuclear reactors. The Israeli police force also sometimes uses our "Mazlats" for special missions, like demonstrations, and

they intend to try including them in highway patrols as well. But the system costs more than \$3 million, and the police force does not have the budget. We suggested that they lease the system by the hour, but no agreement has been made as yet. We also suggested that the electric company use the "Mazlat" to examine the hot nodes on the high tension lines, instead of using manned helicopters.

[Genaure] And what about outside Israel?

[Harari] We suggested to the Americans that they buy a "Mazlat" system to patrol the Alaskan oil pipeline and localize leaks. Today this is done using manned planes, which fly at a very low altitude, and the rate of accidents on that line is enormous. A year ago, I also received an inquiry from a French zoologist specializing in elephants. He wanted to examine the possibility of using the "Mazlat" to supervise elephant hunting in Kenya and Zambia. But, these governments do not have money. I received a similar inquiry from a French company that builds ski slopes and is looking for a way to warn against avalanches.

[Genaure] But who can pay so much money?

[Harari] That does cause a problem, so we are working to set up a company in Europe that will offer the "Mazlat" for lease by the hour. Several television companies will be glad to use the "Mazlat" system to cover events, and they will have no problem paying between \$1,000 and \$1,500 per hour.

### Local Russian Paper To Be Published in Soviet Union

TA3005132991 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 30 May p A4

[Excerpt] The Soviet Government has permitted an Israeli newspaper to publish and distribute newspapers throughout the Soviet Union for the first time. A license for distribution and unlimited printing rights was given to NOVOSTI, a Russian-language newspaper published in Israel. The communications minister for the government of the Russian Federation signed the special license. [passage omitted]

## LEBANON

### Analysis of Situation Before Hizballah Elections

91AE0453B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
25 May 91 p 2

[Article: "New Hizballah Leadership; Trio Close to al-Da'wah Supporters That Didn't Fight in Shi'ite Wars"]

[Text] Beirut—AL-HAYAH—Finally and after a tug of war lasting several months, Lebanese Hizballah held its second congress on 20 May [1991] in the presence of all its leadership and organizational bodies. The number of conferees has been estimated at 300 representatives from

the various political, military, security, cultural, social, and health sectors. It was natural that dealing with the organizational situation would top the agenda as a fundamental item, considering that the party has been exposed to internal tremors and that there has been extensive talk about the bifurcations, tendencies, and objectives of these tremors. It was no surprise that the conferees elected 'Abbas al-Musawi as party secretary general to replace Shaykh Subhi al-Tufayli who was elected to the post in October 1989.

With this preliminary outcome, the party surpassed the first phase of its organizational crisis and prepared for the more sensitive phase in which nomination of the Consultative Council members and then the Decision-Making Consultative Council members will take place.

Even though the party has been denying the reports about the names of the new leadership in which Ibrahim al-Amin figures as deputy secretary general, it is certain that fundamental changes will occur in the structure of the Political Bureau and the Decision-Making Consultative Council. It seems that Hasan Nasrallah, Husayn al-Khalil, Muhammad Funaysh, and Subhi al-Tufayli will return to the party leadership. It is noted that Na'im Qasim, Muahammad Ra'd, and Husayn Kurani, members of the Decision-Making Consultative Council who are known as the al-Da'wah Party supporters [al-Da'watiyun]—a reference to the al-Da'wah Party which Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr founded in Iraq in the 1950's—have been absent from the new appointments. This is due to the new course which Hizballah will follow by entering the open Lebanese political club. It is well-known that the al-Da'wah supporters reject the party's hasty opening up to the Lebanese political situation and that they have been repeatedly accused by Amal as being the party behind the detonation of conflicts among the Shi'ites on the instruction of radical Iranian leaders such as ex-Minister of Interior Ayatollah Mohtashemi. Since October 1989, the light has been focused on the role of these people in al-Tufayli's war on Amal.

'Abbas al-Musawi's assumption of the general secretariat has revived the speculation that has been floating atop the party's organizational crisis for more than a year. This speculation centers on the need to mold the organizational body in a manner that makes it compatible with the emerging regional and international developments and harmonious with the new Iranian tendencies.

It is likely that 'Abbas al-Musawi and his new leadership represent a turning point in the party's history. Now that the inter-Shi'ite conflict has ended and the Lebanese militias have been disbanded, a question arises regarding the nature of the new tasks to which the party is supposed to devote the major part of its attention.

It is expected that Hizballah will complete its new appointments in June. Until then, the party may suspend the responsibility of all the Consultative Council members in accordance with its internal constitution or with the powers given to the party secretary general who will

not enjoy absolute powers when the new members of the Consultative Council and the Decision-Making Consultative Council are appointed or elected. The first task the leadership will face is a two-part political-military task. Politically, the party has to put its ability to embrace the policy of forging frontal political alliances to the test. Militarily, this leadership will exert efforts to create the best opportunities to use the party's military involvement in any regional "pressures" for a large-scale war against Israel. It has been learned that during his visit to Syria recently, Rafsanjani discussed with the party leadership the need for "absolute readiness to confront the possibilities of an Israeli aggression against the south." It is commonly believed that in its military action, the party's new leadership will be facing "given circumstances" different from those of the past. For the first time, these will be coupled with a timetable for taking advantage of the time lost in the midst of the foggy U.S. position on the Middle East peace process, "according to a party leader.

It seems that the party attaches great hopes to the new leadership which will receive Iranian and Syrian support now that Presidents Hafiz al-Asad and Rafsanjani have agreed that it is necessary that Hizballah turn away from "operations against foreigners in Lebanon."

It is normal that 'Abbas al-Musawi, the new secretary general, will play a fundamental role in this regard by virtue of the good and firm relations he has with all the tendencies within the party. Al-Musawi's supporters declare openly that he was opposed to internecine Shi'ite fighting and that he called for entrenching the "Islamic resistance" during that fighting. One quality that helps al-Musawi's leadership is his early relationship with Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr, founder of al-Da'wah Party in Iraq, even though al-Musawi did not join this party. This relationship has strengthened his position among al-Da'wah supporters in Hizballah. Al-Musawi also receives significant backing from Ali Khamenei, leader of Iran's Islamic revolution, because of his firm position of support for the jurispudent's governorship. Al-Musawi's close confidants say that al-Musawi has had the "spirit of fanatic support for the jurispudent's governorship" since the time before the Islamic revolution's triumph in Iran.

'Abbas al-Musawi was born in 1952 in the village of al-Nabi Shit, Ba'labakk District. He completed his [high school] religious education in Tyre, South Lebanon, and then went to al-Najaf, Iraq, in which he completed the first three stages of the Shi'ite religious sciences. While in Iraq, he studied at the hands of Muhammad Baqir al-Hakim. Immediately upon his return to Lebanon in 1978, al-Musawi took part in establishing the Ba'labakk Religious Tenure. He was the imam of Shamstar Mosque, Ba'labakk, at the time.

He is one of the men who founded Hizballah in 1985 and he has assumed a number of responsibilities in the party, the most important being the central military responsibilities, the official in charge of the Islamic resistance,

and the first aide to the party's advisory body. He is married and has five children.

Ibrahim al-Amin, the number two man in the leadership and the man supposed to be the deputy secretary general, was not in a decision-making position in the previous leadership's Consultative Council despite his rise as one of the political and organizational symbols and even though he held the position of official spokesman in 1989. Al-Amin was born in the village of al-Nabi Ila, close to the town of Zahlah, al-Biqa', in 1952. He received his early religious education in al-Najaf, Iraq, and then went to the city of Qom, Iran. He was one of Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr's students. Al-Amin made the acquaintance of al-Musawi in Qom. He joined Amal Movement in the [very early] 1980's and represented it in Tehran when the Islamic revolution triumphed there. But al-Amin broke away from Amal in 1982 and stayed in Tehran. In 1985, he became one of Hizballah's notables. In 1988, he worked actively in Beirut as the party's official spokesman and as the officer in charge of the party's foreign relations. In Hizballah, al-Amin has led a tendency characterized as a middle-of-the-road tendency and he has worked to curb the pursuit of quick gains.

Hasan Nasrallah, the man qualified to be the party's central military official, [words missing] current responsibility. He was born in the village of al-Bazuriyah, Tyre District, in 1953. He continued his religious education in al-Najaf, Iraq, and then in Qom, Iran. It is said that he did not pass the second phase of the religious studies program. He began his political activity in Amal in 1978 after his return from Iran. At the time, he took charge of the cultural activity in al-Biqa'. He then broke away from the movement with Husayn al-Musawi who later founded the Islamic Amal. Since 1985, Nasrallah has held several positions in Hizballah, including the position of religious studies instructor at the training camp in al-Biqa' and an important, but indeterminate, organizational responsibility afterward. He was then appointed chairman of the Central Ideological Committee. It is believed that he was entrusted in 1988 with following up on the issue of the foreign hostages in Lebanon. In 1990, he went to Qom to continue his religious studies there in the wake of obvious disagreements with Subhi al-Tufayli, the then-secretary general.

The Musawi-Amin-Nasrallah trio may form a harmonious leadership that is united in thought and course, if it is not faced with internal organizational challenges from other party figures who are no less capable and prominent. The most prominent among these figures is Subhi al-Tufayli, the ex-secretary general, who led the party in its wars with Amal by forming an alliance with Fatah. In that phase, 'Abbas al-Musawi, Ibrahim al-Amin, and Hasan Nasrallah were outside the sphere of military influence.

**Apprehension Reported in Ranks of South Lebanon Army***91AE0453C London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
26 May 91 p 5*

[Article by Tariq Ibrahim: "Apprehension and Anticipation Among Ranks of South Lebanon Army; One Tendency With Legitimate Government and Another Wants to Continue Dealing With Israel"]

[Text] Beirut—Arrivals from the occupied south are unanimous that a state of anticipation, caution, and apprehension over the future prevails among the South Lebanon Army ranks. One proof of this is the measures taken by the Israeli Army's Northern Command since General Yehuda (Barrak) was appointed chief of staff last March. The measures seek to boost the morale of the South Lebanon Army officers and troops and begin with talk about raising the salaries, "future guarantees," and preparing and training tens of these officers and troops in Israeli army camps and end with imposing compulsory conscription on young men living in the occupied area.

Since the middle of last March, teams of high-ranking Israeli officers from the various agencies have been touring the "strip" and meeting with its leaders, notables, and mukhtars to explore their opinions and to acquaint themselves with the true southern feelings toward the future of the border strip and of the South Lebanon Army. General Yitzhak Mordechai, the new commander of the northern area, attended on the first day of al-Fitr Holiday a plenary meeting with Major General Antoine Lahd, the South Lebanon Army commander, a number of Israeli and South Lebanon Army officers, and tens of the area's notables at the residence of Mahmud 'Atawi in the border village of Markaba.

Even though the meeting was for the purpose of acquaintance and for expressing congratulations on the occasion of al-Fitr holiday, this did not prevent it from touching on other issues. Lahd was more explicit than Mordechai when he revealed that he had definite guarantees from Israel on keeping the South Lebanon Army influential even if a solution is reached with the government.

According to Lahd, the South Lebanon Army's future is subject to the armed Palestinian presence in the south (and to) the "Lebanese Government's acknowledgment of the true nature of the special relations with Israel." Meanwhile, Mordechai remained silent on his military command's position on deploying the Lebanese Army and disbanding the South Lebanon Army in the context of disbanding the Lebanese militias. But Mordechai did clarify this position in "private meetings."

At another meeting held at the Marj'uyun barracks and confined to those operating in the South Lebanon Army, Mordechai said that "Israel is watching carefully what is issuing forth from Beirut" and that he is closely acquainted with all the formulae proposed in connection with the future of the South Lebanon Army. He revealed

that the Americans are making strenuous efforts to help Israel reach a solution acceptable to all, including "Lahd and his faction."

**Lost Trust**

Most members of the South Lebanon Army are not unaware that relations with Israel are "relations of common benefit." South Lebanon Army security and military officials discuss optimistically the "general political amnesty" about which the Lebanese Government talks. Even though officers such as Major 'Aql Hashim, commander of the South Lebanon Army's western sector, ridicule such optimism "because our option with Israel is determined," 'Id Musallam (47), the security official, believes—despite the fact that he is close to Israeli Intelligence—that the formula which the Lebanese Government has employed to deal with the Lebanese Forces is suitable for the South Lebanon Army.

Officers, especially in the western sector, believe that their problems may not end with the "general amnesty." Calculations in the Lebanese style are in the picture. These officers are involved in a number of crimes that have affected tens of the border strip inhabitants, the latest being the killing of Lebanese citizen Yusuf Sa'd in Bint Jubayl at the beginning of last May by Husayn 'Abd-al-Nabi, the security officer of the South Lebanon Army's western sector and the official in charge of the compulsory conscription activities in this sector. A large segment of the South Lebanon Army, estimated at 500 officers and troops who are mostly ex-Lebanese Army elements (army partisans and intelligence) who have been loyal to the Lebanese Army, believes that it is not bound by the hostile forces' assumptions about "their lackeyhood to Israel."

These officers and troops say: "We came to the border strip in 1976 on the order of the Lebanese Government existing at the time and of the Lebanese Army Command to defend our villages against the Palestinians and the communists."

**"Army" Officers**

The above include people like Major Hashim 'Aql, the western sector commander (ex-commando first sergeant); Major Karamallah Sa'id, South Lebanon Army's chief of staff (retired officer); Captain Amin Musallam, the South Lebanon Army security official (an ex-NCO); Captain Robin 'Abbud (ex-commando corporal); First Lieutenant Ibrahim al-Sayyid (ex-commando); First Lieutenant Ghazi al-Dawi (ex-air force sergeant); First Lieutenant Ahmad al-Jalil (a former private); and First Lieutenant Riyad al-'Abdallah (a former private). Israel does not hide the importance such elements, who have previous military experience, in establishing the border militias since 1976 and especially in fighting the Palestinian organizations and Lebanese leftist parties.

Even though Israel alleges that ex-military men constitute 50 percent of the South Lebanon Army, the facts indicate that this percentage ranges from 30-35. This

percentage was at its peak when al-Qulay'ah Forces were first formed in July 1975 under the command of Major Sa'd Haddad on the orders of General Iskandar Ghanim, the Lebanese Army Commander at the time. On 17 May 1980, Haddad proclaimed creation of the Free Lebanon Army which consisted of nearly 1,000 officers and soldiers, 65 percent of whom were regulars. But this percentage began to decrease gradually when it became evident to most of those soldiers and officers, such as officers Ghassan and 'Adnan al-Himsi, that their natural place was in their original units. Meanwhile, others decided to engage in free enterprise in Israel, such as Major Sami al-Shidyaq who married an Israeli woman and settled in Naharya to carry on with his business.

Even though the majority of the South Lebanon Army is Christian, this army's Muslim minority has played serious military and security roles, such as establishing firm control over the border strip towns and villages under the umbrella of obvious struggles for power between Christian and Muslim leaders.

Husayn 'Abd-al-Nabi and 'Abd-al-Nabi Ayyub in Bint Jubayl, Riyad al-'Abdallah and Ghazi al-Dawi in al-Khiyam, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Jalil in Kfar Kalla, and Nabih Abi-Rafi' and Badawi 'Alam-al-Din in Hasbaya represent the "Israeli sword hanging over the citizens' heads." Most of these men have belonged to Israeli intelligence (Mosad, security, Shin Beth) since the 1970s. Initially, their enrollment in the South Lebanon Army was an urgent necessity for the Israelis because this army lacked a Muslim element. In addition to the military in the South Lebanon Army, there are numerous civilian notables who are firmly connected with Israeli Intelligence, such as Francis Rizq, Clovis Francis, and Muhammad 'Atawi. In their meetings with border strip residents, these notables stand to say: "It is our choice to stay with Israeli Intelligence." They reject the idea of returning to the legitimate government.

#### Interests First

According to a recent statistical report, the South Lebanon Army numbers amount to 2,500 officers and troops. It seems that there has been a drop in its numbers since it amounted to 3,200 elements in 1989-90. Some informed sources in the strip say that the latest figures are doubtful.

Numerous officers and troops have been looking for living and social alternatives that guarantee them a livelihood in case the South Lebanon Army is disbanded. It is no secret that until the end of 1989, the South Lebanon Army was turned into a most significant "drug lane" between Lebanon and Israel by military symbols that have become well known and some of whom have been arrested by Israeli Intelligence, such as Lieutenant Abu-'Aridah, the security officer of Markaba village. Moreover, numerous civilians who had a certain connection with this army's officers, especially with General Lahd, its commander, have also been arrested.

#### Financial Scandals

During the struggle for power, this army's agencies were making indiscriminate accusations against each other, as happened when disagreement over the South Lebanon Army command erupted between Maj. 'Aql Hashim and Maj. Karamallah Sa'id when Lahad was wounded in 1988. Even though Lahad is still the army commander officially, it has become certain to everybody in the border strip that Lahad has another quality, namely the "merchant." Some go as far as talking about the estimated millions which Lahad has gotten from al-Naqurah Port, from taxes levied on the border strip citizens, and from the widespread "theft" in the South Lebanon Army. This talk is supported by the open positions that speak of the "illicit aggrandization" of a number of South Lebanon Army officers.

This belief is coupled with the fact that the major part of the South Lebanon Army Command has openly and repeatedly rejected rejoining the [Lebanese] Army in case an international and regional settlement is reached on the basis of the "legitimacy option." General Lahd, Maj. 'Aql Hashim, Capt. Robin 'Abbud, Maj. Nabih Abi-Rafi', and others do not hide the fact that their interests dictate that they align themselves with Israel. Troops and officers who have not committed flagrant acts against the inhabitants are inclined to join the "legitimate military establishment" whereas high-ranking officers and intelligence officers oppose this tendency because they have been tied for years "by a confidential business deal" with a number of lower-ranking field officials whose names have been linked to evil and disgraceful acts in the "strip." These lesser officials are tantamount to a base which the high-ranking officers use to pressure the Israelis. Even though the livelihood of nearly 3,000 Lebanese families has become tied to the presence of the South Lebanon Army, a state of "regained consciousness" is developing among many who hope that the legitimate Lebanese Government will find them an honorable livelihood in the future.

#### Militias, Armaments, Disarmament Discussed

91AE0453A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic  
19 May 91 p 5

[Article by Tariq Ibrahim: "Lebanese Militias Hand Over Their Weapons Gradually; Lebanese Forces and Druze Popular Army Are True Armies; Others Are Amateurs"]

[Text] Beirut—Delivery of the militias' weapons to the legitimate Lebanese Government in stages, beginning at the end of April and continuing through the first week of this month of May, has exposed the difference between what these militias had been declaring about their role "as a temporary phase in the absence of the government and of its official institutions" and what military resources and capabilities they had been hiding—capabilities and resources that exceed by far the Lebanese Army's capabilities.

The Lebanese Forces and the Popular Liberation Army (Druze force) top the list of the strong, in contrast with the other Christian, Islamic, and leftist militias. The Palestinian organizations' superiority in numbers and equipment was evident in 1975 and even in the summer of 1982. In 1983, there was a significant development in the Lebanese militias' armament. That year, the Lebanese Government structures collapsed anew and the armed opposition forces emerged as combat formations who were more inclined to organize than they had been earlier. The year 1985 was an important step in these forces' history. Tanks were introduced as a basic weapon in their military structure, especially the structure of the Lebanese Forces, the Liberation Army, and Amal. But Amal then turned its T54/55 tanks to the Lebanese Army's Sixth Brigade. The Maronite and Druze factions introduced heavy 155/130 mm artillery, signal and air defense weapons, intelligence, and other outfits. Since 1980, the Lebanese Forces are the only force that has possessed a significant naval force when compared with the other armed parties.

With the start of the Lebanese war in 1975, the Lebanese militias emerged as a military condition putting pressure on the domestic military situation. To put it briefly, these militias shared power and influence on the debris of the government. Thus, regular forces, such as the Lebanese Forces, the South Lebanon Army, and the Popular Liberation Army, came into existence. These forces have regular army structures adopted from the Lebanese and Israeli armies and they were created as alternatives to the national army. They have their commands, their staff, their branches, and their armament.

As for the semi-regular militias, such as Amal, they have relied on popular mobilization and a vast human reserve. They have acquired individual and medium weapons and provided their "regular" forces with semi-regular training. They believe that the Lebanese Army is the only party qualified to undertake national security. There are pan-Arab militias, such as the Ba'th Party militia and the SSNP [Syrian Social Nationalist Party] militia; Marxist militias, such as the Communist Party and the Communist Action Organization militias; fundamentalist militias, such as the Hizballah militia and the Islamic Unification Movement militia; and local militias, such as al-Maradah in the north and the Nasirist Popular Organization in Sidon.

Even though Lebanon has witnessed the rise of more than 70 political organizations in 15 years, the general tendency of the Lebanese crisis took a turn which gave rise to three main parties at the popular and military levels, namely: The Lebanese Forces (Maronite), Amal (Shi'ite), and the Popular Liberation Army (Druze). One should not disregard the fundamentalist Iran-supported Hizballah. Despite the difference in the Lebanese militias' objectives, weapons have been the most influential language in the Lebanese arena. Internal developments within each party have played a significant role in promoting its combat and military capabilities. After January 1985, the Lebanese Forces were the first to rush

to enter the "regular club." In 1988, the number of tanks possessed by the Lebanese Forces amounted to nearly 100 tanks, mostly U.S.-made M-48 and Soviet-made T54/55 tanks. These forces also possessed nearly 100 heavy 130-mm, 122-mm, and 105-mm field guns, and 100 tracked vehicles and halftracks, mostly of the M-113, (Penhard), and B.T.R. varieties. In October 1989, Iraq supplied nearly 34 tanks of the T54-55 type, 18 rocket launchers, 10 troop carriers, three 130-mm artillery batteries, and one Frog surface-to-surface missile battery. During battles with the units of ex-Lebanese Army Commander General Michel 'Awn in the winter of 1990, the Lebanese Forces seized 38 major combat tanks, including 11 M-48 tanks. The rest were T54-55 tanks. The forces also seized 65 M-113 troop carriers, 16 130-mm guns, 13 155-mm guns, 51 120-mm mortars, nine 122-mm launchers with 40 barrels, 13 107-mm launchers, 21 Motorola radios, 152 GR.C77 radios, three medium stations, three operations-room carriers, and thousands of rifles. Last June, reports revealed that the Lebanese Forces sold 3,000 M-16 rifles to the Lebanese Army. To all these spoils, the Lebanese Forces added their light naval fleet which consists of five Israeli-made (Devora) boats, nearly 13 Zodiac boats, and a number of light boats used originally for tourist purposes. They added 27 tourist boats which they confiscated from Junyah and 16 Gazelle, Puma, Bell, and Alouette helicopters. In their battles with General 'Awn's units, the Lebanese Forces lost 21 tanks, 14 halftracks, and 20 tracked vehicles. The Lebanese Army seized five tanks, 18 troop carriers, four 122-mm launchers (40 barrels), and seven field guns.

It seems that since the beginning of this year, the Lebanese Forces Command has been aware of the difficult and serious nature of the phase. It rushed to take advantage of time and moved a part of its heavy weapons, especially tanks and artillery, out of Lebanese territories. Informed official Lebanese circles say that the forces have sold a part of the tanks to an African country and sent the rest to the border strip. It is believed that the forces have delivered or will deliver to the legitimate Lebanese Government all the heavy and medium weapons which they cannot use. At the end of last month, it was noticed that nearly 100 containers were shipped by military trucks from Junyah to Kasrawan before the Lebanese Forces handed the first consignment of their weapons to the legitimate government. Many officers of the Lebanese [Army] Tank Corps don't believe that the Lebanese Forces can conceal their tanks which require constant maintenance. This is what the Lebanese Forces lack. These officers assert that the Forces can conceal nearly 50 155-mm and 130-mm Howitzer guns with their shells, 50 tracked vehicles, and more than 5,000 light and medium weapons. It is normal that the storage sites would be in mountainous areas that are possible "to ventilate," such as the higher parts of Kasrawan and Jubayl areas.

### Progressive Socialist

The PSP [Progressive Socialist Party], which is the number two force behind the Lebanese Forces among the Lebanese militias, had in its possession 80 T54/55 tanks, part of which was a gift from the Soviet Union, in addition to a number of M-48 tanks which the party seized during Iqlim al-Kharrub battles in February 1984 when the fourth brigade of the Lebanese Army collapsed. Total figures indicate the presence of nearly 50 M-113 and (BTR) troop carriers, 60 155-mm, 130-mm, and 122-mm guns, and 40 122-mm and 107-mm rocket launchers. The party has notified the Lebanese circles concerned that its weapons will be returned to the Syrian forces, having already delivered 20 tanks and 30 guns to the legitimate government and to Syria. The PSP has the exclusive capability to conceal a significant part of its military force in the area of al-Shuf and Mount Lebanon.

The other parties possess less weapons, both in terms of efficiency and numbers. This is a result of the difference in the geographic positions and of the nature of the "enemy" they have been facing. Amal, Hizballah, the Communist Party, the SSNP, and the Popular Nasirist Organization top the list of these parties. The difference is not confined to the nature of the combat tasks but goes beyond to the local political positions and the supporting regional links. Whereas Syria supports Amal in its fight against the Israeli Army and the South Lebanon Army, commando and guerrilla warfare tactics dictate the use of light and medium weapons, relying on individual weapons and on 81-82 mm mortars, B-7 launchers, and 107-mm missiles. The internal battles between Amal and Hizballah and between the Unification Movement and the Communist Party have demonstrated that these forces favor light and medium weapons to heavy weapons and tanks. Even though Amal may possess heavy 130-mm and 122-mm guns, these weapons are not an effective weapon when compared with Lebanese Forces and the PSP's artillery. Amal's advantage is that most of its weapons are distributed in the south and

al-Biqā' within the framework of a general combat plan based on "defending the south," according to what Amal itself says.

As for Hizballah, it rushed a month ago to move its medium and individual weapons to the south within the framework of preparing for a new phase that may require it to participate in a front to fight Israel in the south and in western al-Biqā'. It is to be noted that the party owns a number of tracked vehicles which it seized from the South Lebanon Army in 1986 and 1987. It is unlikely that the party will hand these over to the Lebanese Army at present. Lebanese military circles say that the party also possesses a large store of munitions, a number of 155-mm and 122-mm field guns, and tens of 120-mm and 82-mm mortars which the party seized from Shaykh 'Abdallah Barracks in Ba'labakk. Of all the organizations, Hizballah has, moreover, exclusively embraced the combat tactics of launching attacks on the South Lebanon Army positions. In the south and western al-Biqā', the party's armament has been dominated by individual weapons, light automatic weapons, and B-7 missiles.

The Lebanese Communist Party, the SSNP, and the Nasirist Organization possess no heavy field weapons. If such weapons are found on the Kfar Falus front, east of Sidon, then they belong to the Palestinian organizations and the PSP. With the absence of a regular army corps from all these forces, unlike the Lebanese Forces and the PSP, it is difficult to determine what weapons these forces possess. However, the known figures indicate that Amal, Hizballah, the Communist Party, the Popular Organization, and the Unification Movement possess altogether nearly 20,000 individual rifles and nearly 1,000 medium and heavy 14.5-mm, 12.7-mm, 23-mm, and 40-mm medium and heavy pieces. The legitimate government does not wish to get this kind of weapon all at once. The source of danger is the parties that consider themselves an alternative to the regime and the army and that possess tanks, heavy artillery, and even warplanes and military boats.

**BANGLADESH****Hasina Accused of Aiding Terrorists**

91AS1148A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
25 May 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Bangladesh Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal (JCD) demanded the Awami League President Sheikh Hasina's apology to the nation for her heinous role in supporting and sheltering the terrors and collaborators of autocratic forces.

The Chhatra Dal leaders, at a press conference yesterday at the National Press Club said that Sheikh Hasina welcomed the expelled terrorist groups from JCD and murderers of Dr Milon and accorded reception to them at Bangabandhu Bhaban on Tuesday evening. The Bangladesh Chhatra League [BCL], student front of the Awami League, also absorbed them in their organization without any protest. So "we can't share with such anti-democratic student front," Chhatra Dal leaders said.

They further said after the inclusion of these activists into the BCL (S-A), the campus became tense again and general students felt, insecure. Those who were expelled on November 25 last year and May 21 this year from the JCD due to their participation as autocratic aides, are now engaged in unruly activities under the shelter of the BCL.

The expelled terrors included Masudur Rahman Masud.

Mirza Mahfuj Jewel, Kamrul Islam Sajal, Akhtaruz-zaman Khokan, Golam Farooq Ovee, the JCD leaders complained.

The expelled students Moinuddin, Tokan, Masud along with outsiders are now freely moving around the campus with arms creating panic, they added.

The JCD leaders, in a written statement, cautioned that by the inclusion of unruly activists and collaborators in the BCL the heroic image of the student community of Bangladesh has been tarnished and it is another conspiracy to spoil the 10-point demand of student community. They said if there be any occurrence on the campus or anywhere by these activists all responsibilities have to be borne by Sheikh Hasina.

The JCD leaders urged all other student organizations to stand unitedly against all the conspirators and asked them to launch a united movement for implementation of the 10-point demand of the students.

The statement was signed by Fazlul Haq Milon, Joint Convenor of the JCD among others Khairul Kabir Khokan, Nazimuddin Alam, Jaglul Haider Jaglu and Ilias Ahmed were present in the press conference. [sentence as published]

**BNP Leading Groups Meet, Results Told****Central Executive Committee**

91AS1150A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 10 Jun 91 p 1

[Text] The Executive Committee meeting of Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) on Sunday held extensive discussion on various organizational matters as well as the form of government, reports BSS.

Briefing newsmen on this at the city office of BNP at nawab Yusuf Market, the Secretary General and Minister for LGRD [Local Government and Rural Development] and Cooperatives, Mr Abdus Salam Talukdar said, "The address by the Acting President on June 5 got due importance" at the meeting.

Mr Talukdar said the BNP government would conform to the reaction it gave after the speech.

He told a questioner that the question of form of Government would be decided in the coming session of Parliament. When pressed further, Mr Talukdar said "the meeting is still going on."

Mr Talukdar said the meeting presided over by Party Chairman and Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia, also discussed the killing of Dr Milon and observed that those who had condemned the killing have now given protection to the killers.

He said they were attempting to launch movement against arrest of the criminals by the police. "This is a play to destabilize the present democratically elected Government", he said.

The Executive Committee meeting also discussed about the rehabilitation of the expelled students of Jatiyatabadi Chhatra Dal by the Chhatra League.

Besides, the meeting also dwelt on the present political situation and holding of the party's council session.

The Secretary General said the meeting decided to re-constitute the party at the union, upazila and district levels between June 30 and July 30.

He said, besides, it decided to enlist new members particularly those who had been associated with the party during the February 27 polls.

The meeting expressed deep sorrow at the loss of life and property in the recent devastating cyclone and observed that the party would do whatever possible to rehabilitate the affected people.

It also condoled the death of late Lokman Hosain Fakir and prayed for the peace of the departed soul.

Over 300 members from different parts of the country attended the meeting which is still continuing.

### Parliamentary Party

91AS1150B Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English  
11 Jun 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Picking up the thread of Sunday's Central Executive Committee meeting, the Parliamentary Party of the ruling BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] had wide-ranging discussions on the vital issue of form of government giving its nod of approval in favor of parliamentary system with adequate checks and balances between the Head of the State and the Head of the Government.

"It's now only a matter of time, some formalities," Begum Khaleda Zia, the Party Chairman and Prime Minister told newsmen as she emerged from the closed-door meeting.

The Prime Minister told the meeting that their opinion would be reflected in the decision of the Standing Committee of the party, the highest policy making body of the party.

The 3 hour-long deliberations of the BNP MPs [Members of Parliament] concentrated mainly on how to strike the balance of power between the President and the Prime Minister under a parliamentary form. The meeting with Party Chairperson and Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia in the chair had threadbare discussions on the merits and demerits of both the presidential and the parliamentary systems in the context of country's greater interest.

The BNP stalwarts-eleven of whom are on the party's Standing Committee the highest policy-making body-immediately after the Parliamentary Party's meeting at the Parliament Committee room switched over to the Prime Minister's chamber and put their heads together about the final decision in this regard. The standing Committee had rather a brief session on the issue.

Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia yesterday said that her party will discuss the crucial issue of the form of government with other political parties.

"There is nothing to hide...discussions will be held with everybody", Begum Zia told reporters outside her Parliament office, emerging from a closed door session with senior party leaders following a meeting of the BNP Parliamentary Party.

She however, did not spell out her party's latest position on the widely talked issue of the form of government.

"The BNP Standing Committee will meet within a day or two", the Prime Minister told reporters, hinting at a final decision on the issue soon.

Meanwhile party sources said that an overwhelming majority of the speakers at the BNP Parliamentary Party meeting yesterday voiced their support for restoration of parliamentary democracy.

Asked by newsmen about the outcome of the Standing Committee meeting, BNP Secretary-General Barrister

Abdus Salam Talukdar who hurried his way out, quipped "it is very bright." Pressed further, Barrister Salam Talukdar who is also Local Government and Rural Development Minister, evaded most of the questions just saying "you will see in time and there is nothing to hide." He did not brief the waiting newsmen on the meetings of both the Parliamentary Party and the Party Standing Committee. He, however, told a questioner that 25 MPs spoke at the parliamentary party meeting.

Asked when the bill for form of Government would be moved in the House, Mr Talukdar said, "we took serious note of Acting President's speech and we will take necessary steps during the budget session beginning today."

Meanwhile, a party insider present at the parliamentary party meeting told the New Nation "we are giving much importance to stability of a government which is needed very badly for rapid development of the country and welfare of the people."

He, however, mentioned that changes in different articles would have to be brought in through amendment of the Constitution in order to make the proposed parliamentary form into effect one-party.

The character of the Constitution was changed from parliamentary to one-party presidential system in 1975 by late Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League Government through the Fourth Amendment. Subsequently more changes were brought in by the successor Zia government to introduce multi-party system of government.

One BNP leader who preferred anonymity said the Articles of 48.56.58.70 and 92 (A), of the Constitution would have to be amended bringing about the required changes for ensuring stability of the Government.

BNP under late President Ziaur Rahman's Government had incorporated total allegiance and trust in Allah, the Almighty and "bismillah-hir-rahmanur rahim" in Article No 8 of the preamble of the Constitution, which have to remain as it is, he said.

The BNP constitutional experts are working on the changes to be required for the constitutional amendments as per decision of the party which is yet to be formally announced.

According to a competent source in BNP the proposed bill may include four major elements: These are: (1) Executive powers will be vested to Prime Minister, (2) President and Vice-President to be elected by parliament, (3) MPs elected on a party ticket will not be eligible, either collectively or individually, to cross the floor, and (4) if a party or group forms coalition, either before or after election, that party or group will not be eligible to withdraw support from the coalition during the tenure of parliament.

The bill will also include provision enabling the Acting President Justice Shahabuddin Ahmed to go back to his previous office of the Chief Justice.

Sources say, they are proposing such measures so that nobody gets a chance to emerge as "Chandra Shekhar of Bangladesh" and topple the government.

Chandra Shekhar, Prime Minister of India, stages a parliamentary coup against the National Front government and toppled his Janata Party colleague V.P. Singh from the office of Prime Minister.

The contents of the bill were communicated to the Eight Party Alliance leaders, including Awami League, by Agriculture Minister Majidul Haq on behalf of his party.

Giving preliminary reaction to the draft bill proposed by BNP, an Awami League leader said the measures will be tantamount to switching over to Prime Minister's dictatorship from that of the president's under the existing constitution.

This will simply reduce the MPs to puppets of the Prime Minister and the cabinet negating the spirit of democracy and the aspirations of the people, he added.

The Awami League leader, however, said decision of the party will be taken on return of Sheikh Hasina from Singapore.

## Reportage on Meeting of Aid Consortium

### Finance Minister's Speech

91AS1101A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 30 May 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] Paris, 29 May—Finance and Planning Minister Saifur Rahman today sought 2.4 billion U.S. dollars in foreign aid to implement Bangladesh's development programmes for the fiscal 1991-92, reports BSS.

Addressing the World Bank sponsored aid consortium meeting here, the Finance Minister said his country needed foreign aid to realise the goals of democracy, development and poverty alleviation. He said the central feature of his Government's economic programme was the creation of a social and economic environment which encourages efficient economic activities.

Giving the back-up of the aid, he said Bangladesh would need 1550 million dollars as project aid, 520 million dollars as commodity aid and 330 million dollars as food aid.

Mr. Rahman said the government's agenda was based on a firm commitment to democratic pluralism, privatisation, deregulation and market-oriented competitive economic environment. "In particular, we are determined to bring about fiscal and monetary discipline in macro-economic management and roll-back the wave of corruption that has increasingly affected our society by

stressing accountability and transparency in allocations of the government," he added.

Mr. Saifur Rahman told the meeting being attended by 24 donor countries and agencies that the government had given stress on creating more employment for alleviating the level of poverty by setting up more industries and making the agricultural sector more diversified. He underlined the government's determination to augment investable domestic resources by cutting unnecessary expenditure and encouraging saving habits.

The Finance Minister said the next year's budget beginning 1 July would aim at 20 percent growth on the receipt side and restrict growth of current expenditure to 10 percent. He hoped that introduction of vat [value added tax], restructuring of the direct tax structure and rationalisation of the tariff structure would help augment the government's receipt from taxes.

He further said improvement of financial performance would reduce the burden of subsidy payment out of the budget. The government expected that the measures to reduce current expenditure would help finance an increasingly higher proportion of development outlay which in turn would lead to self reliant economic growth, he added.

Mr. Saifur Rahman told the meeting that the immediate priority of his government was to maintain short-term economic stability. He said the size of ADP [annual development program] would be Taka 75 billion for the next fiscal representing an increasing of 10 percent of the current fiscal. Besides, a special allocation of Taka three billion would be made for cyclone reconstruction work, he added.

He said the mid-term objective sought to establish a policy framework which would stimulate private investment and increase size and efficiency of public investment. The government is going ahead with implementation of the financial sector reform package. Drastic steps have been taken to improve recovery of outstanding debts. This, together with loan provisioning and recapitalisation measures and interest rate liberalisation policy will enable the financial sector to play a dynamic role in the economy. At the same time, measures have been taken to make the financial sector more responsive to the needs of the agricultural sector, he said.

He listed the major infrastructure priorities as being the Jamuna multi-purpose bridge, Megna bridge, rural electrification and activating export oriented industries. The emphasis on human resource development will be reflected in the budgetary allocation for health, population, planning, education, involvement of womenfolk in the development process and protection of the environment, he emphasised.

The Finance Minister said while the people of Bangladesh were in the process of consolidating their victory after the ouster of autocracy and accelerating their

development efforts they suffered colossal by an unprecedented devastating cyclone which was followed by floods and tornadoes in different parts of the country. These natural calamities caused losses worth billions of dollars to different sectors of the national economy, he said.

Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia, he said, made an urgent appeal to the international community to assist the government efforts to provide immediate relief and assistance. The response had been prompt, but the level of commitment received so far fell far short of the rehabilitation and reconstruction needs of the affected people, he added.

Mr. Rahman said the people now stand united under the leadership of Begum Zia in their desire to establish equitable and balanced economy development to create a just and fair society to ensure security and justice for all.

#### More Aid Pledged

91AS1101B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 31 May 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Paris, 30 May—The Bangladesh Aid Consortium meeting today pledged assistance of 2.3 billion dollars for the country for the next fiscal year, reports BSS.

The amount is 500 million dollars higher than last year's pledge of dollars 1.8 billion and without any condition for a mid-term review by the donors.

This is the highest ever pledge of assistance for Bangladesh which demonstrates the confidence of the international community in the financial management of the economy by the new government.

The meeting which concluded today was presided over by Mr. Attila Karaosmanoglu, Vice President World Bank and participated by representatives of Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States, ADB [Asian Development Bank], EEC, IMF, UNDP [United Nations Development Program], WFP [World Food Program], IFAD [International Fund for Agricultural Development], Kuwait Fund, OECD and the Saudi Arabia.

The meeting was held in a very cordial and friendly atmosphere.

The delegates of the various countries and organisations to meeting congratulated the people of Bangladesh for their victory in the struggle for democracy and expressed sympathy for the devastation caused by the recent cyclone.

The meeting also expressed satisfaction at the prompt measures taken by the government to provide relief and for the measures being undertaken to rehabilitate the affected people. The meeting noted that a study on

cyclone damages and reconstruction was being undertaken jointly by the government, UNDP and the World Bank which will be presented at the July meeting of the ECOSOC [Economic and Social Council] of the UN.

The discussion in the ECOSOC meeting is extend to result in additional assistance for cyclone rehabilitation [as published].

The Chairman of the meeting Mr. Karaosmanoglu in his opening statement said that the establishment of a democratic government, a comfortable foreign exchange position and the strong support of the international community would now provide a window of opportunity to move forward decisively to address Bangladesh's long-term development needs.

The World Bank, ADB, USA, UK, Japan and all other donors congratulated the government on its success in maintaining macro-economic stability despite the extreme difficulties caused by the Gulf crisis and the devastating cyclone. The meeting also endorsed the government's policy of eliminating waste inefficiency and corruption, the measures taken to recover outstanding loans and programs to improve the financial position of PDB [Power Development Board], Railway and other organisations.

They also expressed satisfaction at the government's commitment to generate more domestic resources to make the economy increasingly self-reliant.

A six-member delegation led by the Minister of Finance and Planning Mr. M. Saifur Rahman represented Bangladesh in the meeting.

The Minister addressed the meeting on the first day's session yesterday, while responding to the various statements made by the participants the Minister said that the priority of the government was to alleviate the condition of the disadvantaged people of Bangladesh.

Side by side with efforts to improve macro-economic management and implement structural reform the government would make all out effort to remove corruption and establish rule of law and social justice, he added.

#### Finance Minister's Return

91AS1101C Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 3 Jun 91 p 8

[Text] Finance and Planning Minister Saifur Rahman Sunday said that the total pledges to be made by the donors for this year's aid to Bangladesh would exceed 2.5 billion U.S. dollars after Japan, a major donor of the country, makes the commitment, reports BSS.

He said Japan during the current fiscal year had pledged over 300 million dollars but because of its own budgetary formalities it could not make any commitment in Paris during the consortium meeting.

Addressing a Press conference on his return from Paris Sunday after attending the 18th meeting of the Aid

Group for Bangladesh, Mr. Rahman said the 2.3 billion dollars which had already been pledged was the highest amount committed so far by the donors. It is about 28 percent higher than the last year's commitment of 1.8 billion dollars. Besides the enhancement of pledge amount, there was no string attached like last year's mid-term review of economic performance to determine disbursement.

Mr. Saifur Rahman led a six-member Bangladesh delegation at the two-day meeting of the 24 member aid club which was chaired by Mr. Attila Karaosmanoglu, Vice President, Asia regional office of the World Bank. The meeting concluded on 30 May.

Describing the enhanced pledge as a "demonstration of the confidence of the economy by the government," Mr. Rahman said donors also welcomed our intention of creating a more market-oriented competitive economic environment and greater use of domestic resources to attain a self-reliant economy.

Giving a break-up of the pledged amount, the Finance Minister said 1.366 million dollars had been earmarked for project aid and 543 million dollars for commodity aid. The amount of food aid commitment is 208 million dollars, while commitments for technical assistance and NGO [nongovernmental organizations] and others are 108 million dollars and 75 million dollars respectively.

Detailing aid club members' appraisal of the overall situation in Bangladesh Mr. Saifur Rahman said the donors stated their government's intention to establish linkages between their aid programme and various national developments progress in respect to their governance.

He however noted that the donor had realized how our economic management was tempered by the colossal loss of human life and property inflicted by the recent cyclone.

The Finance Minister said the donors who welcomed the recent simplification of procedures for approving funds for NGO activities, emphasised on attaining macro economic stability, reducing current expenditure and boosting development expenditure. He said the donors also emphasised attaining capability for utilising external aid. If the external aid were properly utilized, development expenditure may exceed by about 500 crore by year end, he added.

### Problems of Upazila System Studied

#### BNP Panel Views

91AS1107A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 19 May 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] The parliament Members of Bangladesh Nationalist Party [BNP] Saturday opined that the post of chairmen in the Upazila Parishads should be done away with reports BSS.

"Majority of the members suggested that the post of Upazila Chairmen should be abolished," BNP Secretary General and LGRD [Local Government and Rural Development] and Cooperatives Minister Barrister Abdus Salam Talukder told newsmen at a briefing at the Jatiya Sangsad Bhaban in Dhaka on Saturday night.

The BNP parliamentary party which met at the committee room of the Jatiya Sangsad with Prime Minister and Party Chairperson Begum Khaleda Zia in the chair also suggested that Zila Parishad and Upazila Parishad should be reconstituted.

Mr. Talukder said the justification of having Upazila courts at a huge cost was also questioned by the parliamentary party. The party felt that the members of the public were not deriving benefits from these courts, he added.

He said although courts had been established in the name of reaching justice to the doorsteps of the rural people they did not get justice. He said BNP Parliamentary Party would take decision regarding the functioning of the 64 Zila Parishad. There existed a number of anomalies, he said adding it would take time to settle.

Elaborating, Mr. Talukder said "we might nominate chairman to make Zila Parishad functional at the moment."

Replying to a question whether reconstitution of the Zila and Upazila parishads would take place before the presidential election, the BNP Secretary General said "It is not linked with the presidential election."

#### Inadequacies Noted

91AS1107B Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER  
in English 7 Jun 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Khulna, 6 June—Upazila administration, a brainchild of the past autocratic government to perpetuate its rule at grassroot level has eaten up our national revenue since its inception in 1983 with no striking change in the life-style of the people. On the other hand it has become a den of corruption, administration inefficiency and mal-practices and political and social bickerings in the name of so-called development and decentralisation of power at lower level of administration.

According to rough estimate available unofficially a sizeable amount of money ranging from Taka 50 to 100 crores are being spent every year towards the maintenance and upkeepment of the Upazila administration in 460 Upazilas in the country where 67 percent of its national budgetary expenditures come from foreign aid grants and relief.

It is a sheer wastage of public money in a country where resources are limited and people suffer from unemployment and poverty under the burden of ever-increasing population, opined a prominent social worker who closely witnessed the experiment of the new administrative set up initiated by the past government to create a

power-base of its own at grassroot level to retain its grip over the country and the people. The present democratic government which embarked upon a programme to root out corruption and in maintaining discipline on the administration and national economy through austerity for a planned development must reappraise thoroughly whether the country could afford to retain this expensive and unproductive administration in upazilas in the context of present socio-economic conditions of the country. A high-powered committee with senior officials, economists and members of the parliament may be formed to go into details including performance of the upazila administration and its impact on the people so that the present government could take a final decision on its retention in the country.

May be noted here that the government had already decided to abolish the upazila courts which has been hailed by all sections of people in the country.

## INDIA

### CIA Accused of Role in Assassination

#### Gadgil Remarks

91AS1116A Madras *THE HINDU* in English 1 Jun 91  
p 6

[Text] Pune, 31 May: The Congress(I) leader, Mr. V.N. Gadgil, today alleged that the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi was "part of an international conspiracy and showed how far the CIA's hands have stretched."

Talking to reporters here, Mr. Gadgil quoted the book "Envoy to Nehru" by Reid stating that the CIA had made an effort to weaken the Congress and the nation during Pandit Nehru's time, besides other such books like the "Walson Plot" and "The spycatcher" that portrayed the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency's role in various international conspiracies.

Referring to a book written by Victor Ostrovsky "By Way of Deception," Mr. Gadgil said, the writer, who was an officer in "Mossad"—the Israeli Intelligence Agency—had stated that the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] and the Punjab militants were trained by Mossad.

"There is a threat to the unity and integrity of the country and forces both inside and outside were out to destabilise the nation," he said. "Such memoirs show where the CIA's hands have stretched.

#### Congress-I's Tytler

91AS1116B New Delhi *PATRIOT* in English 3 Jun 91  
p 3

[Text] "Certain powers of the world do not want India to be strong...and whoever strives to make it so is destroyed," said Congress leader Jagdish Tytler.

Mr. Tytler was speaking at a meeting organised in the Capital on Sunday by the Shiromani Akali Dal (Tara Singh) to pay homage to late Rajiv Gandhi.

Mr. Tytler accused the CIA of masterminding Rajiv Gandhi's assassination. Quoting from 'Envoy to Nehru,' written by R.C. Leeds, he said even during Nehru's time many top CIA advisors had established close contacts with the Jan Sangh. Mr. Tytler also accused the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] of having 'CIA links' and inciting communalism, hatred and violence in the country.

Later another Congress leader Mr. Romesh Bhandari made an emotional appeal to the people to stand united in this hour of challenge and not let enemies of the country succeed in their evil designs. "Rajiv Gandhi had a vision of 21st century India as a country free from casteism, unemployment and poverty." Mr. Bhandari appealed to the people to fulfil Rajiv's dream.

Participating in the meeting Akali Dal(T) leader Jathedar Rachpal Singh said that the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi was an assault on the country's freedom. Referring to the '84 riots, he said that the past has to be forgotten and appealed to the people to make India a "replica of heaven" by keeping it united.

He expressed confidence that the Congress would remain united and emerge stronger in the face of this crisis.

Extending his party's support to the Congress, Mr. Singh said that in the present milieu the Congress was the only party that can maintain unity.

#### Communist Mohit Sen

91AS1116C Calcutta *THE STATESMAN* in English  
24 May 91 p 9

[Article by K. Ravi]

[Text] Bhubaneswar, 23 May: Expressing his grief over the assassination of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, the United Communist Party of India general secretary, Mr. Mohit Sen, today said "the CIA was behind" the conspiracy.

Mr. Sen, who was addressing a Press conference here, alleged that such high-tech plastic bombs with maximum precision and impact that killed Rajiv Gandhi were not produced in India nor was the plan to murder Rajiv made in India. "I have no doubt about the role of the British, alleged while pointing out that it had been a long-term plan of the CIA. Bear in mind that during the Gulf war only Rajiv Gandhi had denounced the attempt of a unipolar world and had taken up this battle against this idea. He had, as is seen even in the Congress manifesto, made this stand clear and had noted that the rich nations should not be allowed to exploit the poor nations."

Mr. Sen said that it was feared that if Rajiv Gandhi wins the U.S. plan will be in difficulty.

Asked about the suspected involvement of the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam], Mr. Sen felt that the LTTE could have been only an instrument. They get these plastic bombs from foreign sources, he recalled the number of murders of anti-LTTE men in Madras including that of the EPRLF [Eelam People's Revolutionary Liberation Front] leader, Padmanabh. There are forces in the world that want to make India an Iraq, he remarked. Mr. Sen also charged the security personnel for their lapse.

### **PATRIOT Correspondent**

*91AS1116D New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Jun 91  
p 1*

[Text] The assertion by Mr. Narayan Dutt Tiwari that there is no need to insist on the foreign hand in the assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has caused embarrassment to those Congressmen who only two days ago forced the Government, particularly Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar, to enlarge the scope of the inquiry into the tragic incident in Sriperumbudur.

Not only a large number of Congressmen but also an overwhelming section of the common people believe that the killing of Rajiv Gandhi has many ramifications. They further believe that the Special Investigation Team (SIT) is groping in the dark by concentrating only on the LTTE [Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam] and ignoring the possibility of other inimical foreign agencies being involved.

The suspicion about the involvement of the CIA was strengthened with the disclosure by the Prime Minister that PLO chief Yasser Arafat told him that he had warned Mr. Rajiv Gandhi a month before his tragic death about a possible plot to kill him.

The PLO had also sent a special emissary to Delhi in January to convey the message.

It is understood that the PLO came to know about the plot to kill some prominent Indian leader whose death could cause destabilisation, through its counter espionage system in the Mossad, the most dreaded secret service of Israel.

According to information available, CIA chief Robert Gates had assigned the job to destabilise India to the Mossad.

Mr. Gates is an expert on South Asia and was involved in the Iran-Contra affair. He joined the CIA in 1965 and since then has done specialisation on South Asia.

The CBI [Central Bureau of Investigation] team, which went to Sri Lanka, in the beginning concentrated on LTTE involvement only. It even got the photographs of

the suspected killer airdropped in the Tamil inhabited areas. But all these attempts proved futile and the team returned empty-handed.

But sources in North Block point out that the CBI team returning from Sri Lanka got a hint that the involvement of the People's Liberation Organisation of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) also cannot be ruled out.

The PLOTE is a breakaway group of the LTTE. It first started as a Marxist outfit and had relations with the Palestinian group led by Mr. George Habbash. It later developed contacts with the Mossad and turned into a mercenary outfit.

The PLOTE was involved in the attempts to organise insurgency in the Maldives against the elected regime of President Abdul Gaiyum. The then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had rushed Indian forces to quell the insurgency.

The CBI team believes that if PLOTE mercenaries have been used, then the conspiracy to kill Rajiv Gandhi must have been hatched elsewhere.

Another dimension to the controversy has been added by the memorandum of Congress Rajya Sabha member from MP Ajit Jogi.

Mr. Jogi, in his memorandum to the Verma Commission investigating the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, has named a BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] Minister of Madhya Pradesh for involvement in the conspiracy.

The Congress MP [member of Parliament] has pointed out that the Minister had gone to Sri-Lanka in January this year to participate in the meeting of a Commonwealth Parliamentary Group. After this, the Minister had gone to Tamilnadu a number of times on the pretext of treatment.

Mr. Jogi has requested the Verma Commission to investigate the possible tie-up between the BJP and the CIA and their role in the conspiracy.

### **Campaign Against India in U.S. Reported**

*91AS1131A Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English  
16, 17 May 91*

[Article by Seema Sirohi; first paragraph is THE TELEGRAPH introduction]

**[16 May 19 p 5]**

[Text] The sustained campaign by Khalistanis and militant Kashmiris, the regular reports in prominent U.S. newspapers and a new focus on India by U.S. human rights organisations have contributed to a climate where India's democratic and secular credentials are increasingly under question.... While many Congressmen can

easily dismiss the Khalistanis and the Kashmir American Council (KAC) as agents with a political agenda, they are likely to pay more attention to allegations made by Amnesty International.

Thousands of letters are being sent in the name of Prime Minister Chandra Shekhar from members of Amnesty International urging the Indian government to launch investigations into alleged rape and other crimes by security forces. The letters come from small towns in Iowa from the corn-fields of Illinois and from the Golden Gate City of San Francisco. They talk about the reported torture and rape of one Gurmit Kaur of Leharka or the alleged rape of women in Kupwara district in Jammu and Kashmir.

The torrent of letters from concerned citizens, the sustained campaign by Khalistanis and militant Kashmiris, the regular reports in prominent U.S. newspapers and a new focus on India by U.S. human rights organisations have contributed to a climate in Washington where India's democratic and secular credentials are increasingly under question. The human rights issue may well turn into a long-term problem for the Indian government given the new focus on the rights of smaller nations and minorities in the eyes of the world.

The crescendo is rising as the U.S. foreign aid bill comes up for consideration on Capitol Hill later this month. Some anti-India Congressmen are preparing to introduce last-minute amendments, calling for a cut off of the small amount of U.S. development aid unless certain conditions are fulfilled. Two resolutions calling for a plebiscite in Kashmir have already been introduced by Congressman Dan Burton of Indiana, a fervent cold warrior who rarely misses a chance to denounce India. He has not been able to gather much support from his colleagues but there are indications that apart from the conservative Republican members, some liberal Democrats are beginning to get interested in India's human rights record.

Congressman Wally Herger, a conservative who unabashedly bows to the monetary power of his militant Sikh constituency, is expected to introduce some last-minute amendments that will prove to be a major problem. His amendments' last year on cutting aid to India forced a very close vote—212 against and 204 in favour. The nightmare scenario may be repeated this year.

Some analysts say the tiny amount of U.S. development aid—\$22 million irrelevant and if denied would not make a significant dent in the Indian economy. But others argue that once the Khalistani and Kashmiri lobbies taste blood, they will go for something more—denying India the "most favoured nation" trading status under which Indian exports to the United States are not heavily taxed. Given that the United States is India's largest trading partner and there already is trouble brewing with the "Special 301" controversy, more trade-related hurdles would only add to bilateral headaches.

Said a senior Congressional aide: "If the amendments are passed, it will put the U.S. congress on record as expressing concern about human rights in India. It will be embarrassing for the Indian government."

The Khalistanis and Kashmiris would like nothing more. Apparently working in tandem, their aim is to flash India on the human rights screens of Congressmen who have declared communism dead and can be persuaded to become involved in other countries. The Kashmiri American Council (KAC), the main group of Kashmiris in the United States, is sparing no effort or money in building clout in Washington. The group uses one of the top lobbyists to further its agenda. The company—Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelley—has high-level contacts in the White House. Charles Black, one of the partners, was the acting spokesman of the Republican National Committee last year when its controversial chairman, Lee Atwater, was discovered with a terminal cancer. The company is credited with making Angolan rebel leader, Jonas Savimbi, into a potent cold war pivot for U.S. covert aid during the Reagan years.

While KAC's executive director, Dr. Ghulam Nabi Fai, refuses to disclose the amount he is paying for the services of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelley, he acknowledges that it is in the hundreds of thousands of dollars. Top-level companies charge upwards of \$700,000 annually for opening important Washington doors for foreign governments and representatives of disgruntled groups. The slick presentation of the Kashmiri grievances is evident from the quality of the literature distributed on Capitol Hill. Articles reproduced in colour from Indian magazines such as INDIA TODAY are circulated repeatedly by the KAC and the Council of Khalistan.

Dr. Fai, who says he wants a plebiscite and not violence, uses the "new world order" rhetoric for his cause. "We see a ray of hope in the new world order because it says none can be held hostage against his or her will. No big nation will annex a weaker nation," he says. Last year, he accompanied Amanullah Khan, chairman of the JKLF [Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front], as he travelled in the United States. Khan had announced the execution of Kashmir University vice-chancellor Mushir-ul Haq and two others before the killings had occurred. Dr. Fai's KAC is reported to be in touch with JKLF and other violent Pakistan-based organisations despite his claims to the contrary.

The volume of literature on alleged abuses by Indian security forces in Kashmir and Punjab entering the offices of 435 Congressmen and 100 Senators is enormous. The self-styled president of the Council of Khalistan, Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, has produced some fantastic figures on the killings, arrests and encounters in Punjab. His letter to Congressmen are filled with virulent rhetoric with little or no basis. He reels out figures on whim—95,000 Sikhs killed since 1984, 15,000 Sikhs in jails and 7,000 killings of Sikhs in fake police encounters. He refers to all Indian journalists as "agents" and

claims that foreign correspondents based in Delhi are not allowed to visit Punjab and Kashmir.

Always clad in a saffron turban, Dr. Aulakh also distributes and displays six feet by four feet photographs of tortured bodies with severed legs in Congressional offices. When asked if he can identify the victims or the place where the bodies were recovered, he fudges the issue. Nevertheless, the photos have an impact on American Sikhs and congressional aides. Congressional sources say that the Khalistani lobby often succeeds in convincing a Congressman to sign on to an anti-India bill simply by testing his staff's patience—by deluging them with literature which the staffers do not have time to cross check.

Added to these are "action alert" letters by members of Amnesty International which are pouring into the Indian embassy, demanding investigation into various cases highlighted in the Indian and western Press. Amnesty International uses these proforma letters to generate pressure on governments to protect human rights. Asia Watch, a New York-based human rights group, also has turned its attention to India after trips by some of its researchers last year. Its report on Kashmir released on 5 May is a strong indictment of the government forces in the region. While it also condemns terrorist organisations for assassinations and kidnappings, the report reserves its strongest comments for the Indian security forces.

"India may be the world's largest democracy, but in Kashmir the authorities have clearly abandoned the rule of law for rule by the gun," said Sidney Jones, executive director of Asia Watch. Such statements and reports have a serious impact on Capitol Hill because the groups are seen as impartial monitors of human suffering. While many Congressmen can easily dismiss the Khalistanis and the KAC as agents with a political agenda, they are likely to pay more attention to allegations made by Amnesty International and Asia Watch.

"We pay more attention to worldwide groups that criticise countries for human rights abuses. They have more credibility," said a senior congressional source. He said that he had been getting at least one call a week from other Congressional offices regarding the Burton bills. A recent statement by former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi that security forces in Kashmir "had gone berserk" has only added to the arsenal of the various lobbies.

[17 May 91 p 8]

[Text] The confusion surrounding the granting of permission to Amnesty International to visit India adds to the perception that India does not welcome international monitors. Although Asiawatch researchers visited India on three occasions, there is a belief that India has "something to hide from international inspection." Congressman Burton often likes to say that "even Cuba—

Cuba being the lowest in Mr. Burton's rabidly anti-communist hierarchy—allows Amnesty International to visit."

The charges made by human rights organisations are many—extra judicial killings, disappearances, rapes, indiscriminate use of Prevention of Terrorist and Disruptive Activities Act, torture, house-to-house searches and detention without trial. John Nides of Washington's Amnesty office said that allegations of rape cannot be easily dismissed because for an Indian woman to admit that she has been raped is very difficult given the social stigma attached to the crime. There is also a perception that a political settlement should not be a precondition for improving the conduct of security forces. Existing laws should be enforced to stop the cycle of violence that starts with the alienation of a community and is compounded by government reprisals.

Human rights in India were also the focus of last month's United Nations' hearing attended by attorney general G. Ramaswamy. The UN Human Rights Committee was reviewing India's implementation of the "international covenant on civil and political rights." There were tough questions from experts from Britain, Egypt, Jordan, the Soviet Union and Costa Rica among others. They seemed concerned about the contradiction between Indian laws and the covenant but the attorney general dismissed the line of questioning saying it was "purely hypothetical." While India has not achieved the utopian level for observing human rights, legal recourse was still within the reach of the poor, he said.

Swedish and Soviet representatives questioned Mr. Ramaswamy about India's attitude towards self-determination applied only to people under foreign domination and not to citizens within the territory of a country. UN members also asked why the "Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act" had not been suspended to which he replied that "secession in border states was being fuelled from abroad and the problem needed to be tackled firmly." But many experts were not convinced as to the need for sweeping powers and especially provisions under anti-terrorism laws.

The Indian external affairs ministry so far has not seen the human rights issue as a major obstacle in furthering India's foreign policy goals. But officials privately agree that it should be addressed. Indian embassy officials are making an effort to counter the negative propaganda and rebut some of the blatantly false information being supplied by the Khalistanis and the Kashmiris. Letters explaining the official position have been sent to all Congressmen. The basis of Kashmir's accession to India—a historical period that has received one-sided interpretations by both U.S. human rights groups and the secessionists—has been explained to counter charges made in the Burton bill.

But it is difficult to counter a three-pronged attack from the militant lobbies, human rights groups and U.S. newspapers. "It is an endless canvas, there are 435

Congressmen and 100 Senators and hundreds of staffers who need to be convinced," said one beleaguered diplomat. Some Congressmen have Sikh constituents, some are ultra conservatives and others are liberals who cannot ignore reports of human rights violations, he said. "We have launched an ambitious mailing programme but the other side has no shortage of funds. They have glossy paper and dollars," he added.

The Khalistani and Kashmiri lobbies operate under several different names to show that the discontent is wider than believed. Some of the groups are—Kashmir Information Centre, Kashmiri American Foundation, Indian Muslim Relief Committee, Punjab Human Rights Organisation, Sikh-American Information Centre. Many others are based in Canada and Britain and some even in Norway. Many Pakistani Muslims are members of these groups.

The Indian government also has encouraged trips by Congressmen to India to give them a better perspective on the situation. Apart from Stephen Solarz, the chairman of the House Asia Subcommittee and an old friend of India, there are many others who have come out against the anti-India bills after being convinced that while there are human rights violations in Kashmir and Punjab, the government is not systematically suppressing minorities. The state department has been supportive of the government and has refused to lend its weight to the anti-India lobby on Capitol Hill. There is also an effort by the rest of the Indian community to exert pressure as done by the Khalistanis to convince their Congressmen not to vote for the Burton Bill.

Lalit Gadia, an attorney from Baltimore, Maryland, has some experience of the U.S. political process having worked on political campaigns since 1964 and become a local figure of repute. He has been instrumental in convincing Maryland Congressmen and Senators that a more "constructive focus for India-U.S. relations would be on trade issues." He tells his representatives that the factual basis of the Burton Bill is wrong. Cleverly, he recalls the attempt by American southern states to secede from the Union and compares them to the movements in India. "The U.S. Congress knows that India should be united. They should respond to the broader concerns of Indo-U.S. relations in the post-Cold War era rather than the narrow conservative concerns of some vested interests," he says.

Most of the Congressmen are likely to agree with his assessment but many times narrow interests do prevail.

## Ministerial Assignments Announced

### Ministers Inducted

91AS1096A Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
22 Jun 91 p 1, 9

[Text] New Delhi, June 21. Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao was today sworn in as the ninth Prime Minister and Heads a three-tier council of 57 ministers, which includes five from Karnataka.

Mr Rao, who will be 70 next week, was administered the oath of office and secrecy by President R. Venkataraman at a two-hour meeting in the Ashoka Hall of Rashtrapati Bhavan in the presence of a distinguished gathering.

The Prime Minister will expand his Cabinet, possibly after the monsoon session, and will include Maharashtra Chief Minister Sharad Pawar in it. Mr Pawar flew to Bombay today to wind up things and resign from his post.

The Prime Minister said his team of 15 cabinet ministers, 35 ministers of state and seven deputy ministers was oriented toward the weaker sections and represented all the states.

### Well-Balanced

"That is what I deliberately wanted because most of the problems come from there. I have given representation to all the states. It is adequate and well-balanced," he said.

But BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] leader L. K. Advani said it was "large, too large for a minority ministry." Chief Minister S. Bangarappa disagreed. He said Mr Rao had given representation to all sections and areas, not to mention experience. Tamil Nadu Congress(I) chief K. Ramamurthi said "It is disappointing."

It was the second swearing-in in seven months. Earlier Mr Chandra Shekhar was sworn in as Prime Minister.

Mr Rao drove to Rashtrapati Bhavan a few minutes before the scheduled swearing-in at 12.50 p.m. timed to steer away from the "inauspicious hour" of Rahu Kaalam. Mr Rao, dressed in a cream-colored dhoti and shirt, with angavastram went around the cavernous hall, greeting dignitaries. He posed for pictures with former Prime Ministers V. P. Singh and Mr Chandra Shekhar and greeted his children—three sons and five daughters—who were present at the hall. After talking to fellow Congressmen, he returned to the area where Mr V. P. Singh was seated and reached to BJP leader L. K. Advani who was sitting in the third row and was unable to catch Mr Rao's eyes the first time.

The President's Secretary, Mr P. Murari, called out the name of Mr Rao, who then took the oath of office and secrecy in Hindi, swearing allegiance in the name of God. President Venkataraman read the oath of office in halting Hindi.

When it came to the turn of the other ministers, Mr Venkataraman merely read the first word and asked the incumbents to read the next themselves.

### Confusion

There was some confusion when some ministerial candidates did not show up when their names were called. The first such was Ms Mamta Banerjee, who walked into the hall nearly half-an-hour later and took her oath.

Others who were not present when their names were called out included Bagalkot representative Siddu Nyamagouda, Mr D. K. Taradevi, Mr Rameshwar Thakur and Mr Dalbir Singh.

There was a flutter when an Andhra Pradesh MP [Member of Parliament], Mr Chintha Mohan, sitting in the front row, heard his name. His fellow MPs asked him to go to the President and be sworn in, but Mr Mohan was not sure. He was heard saying that it must be another person of the same name.

A few minutes later, when the name of Mr Dalbir Singh was called, all eyes were turned towards the back of the hall when a middle-aged man rose from his seat. Onlookers were aghast when the man walked towards the exit and some persons in the audience were heard shouting to him to walk towards the President. Journalists were in splits when they realized that the man was a reporter from the United News of India, who was rushing out to inform his office up-to-the minute developments.

The President congratulated each Minister, but had a special word for Minister of State Rengarajan Kumaramangalam. "You are a third generation minister. Your grandfather, your father and now you," he said. Mr Rengarajan's father Mohan Kumaramangalam and his father, Dr P. Subbarayan, were Central ministers.

After the swearing-in, the dignitaries adjourned for tea. Photographers shouted down security personnel trying to shield Mr Rao and two former Prime Ministers, a rare photographic opportunity. Mr Rao quickly cleared the security ring and posed with Mr V. P. Singh and Mr Chandra Shekhar.

After the swearing-in the Prime Minister told newsmen that he might expand the Cabinet after the monsoon session.

Asked if he would include Mr Sharad Pawar, he said he would be joining the Cabinet soon. He said Mr Pawar had some problems to sort out in Maharashtra.

Asked about his Government's attitude to the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, he said one would have to wait till the terms of reference of the inquiry commission going into the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi could be finalized.

His Cabinet colleague, Mr Arjun Singh, said that the first priority of the government would be to stem the flow of blood and to cool passions, which have been running high.

He said the Government would also have to get the economy back on the rails and fulfill its election promises.

The third priority would be to ensure social justice along the lines practiced by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Indira Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi.

Mr Madhavrao Scindia said Rajiv Gandhi had left an indelible mark on the functioning of the party. The country had never before faced such serious problems on the economic, political and social front, all at the same time.

"A soothing touch must be applied," he said and added the sensitive Ayodhya issue should best be left to the Prime Minister to comment on.

Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad said there was nothing wrong in Mr Pawar expressing his views. He said it was all over.

Asked what made Mr Pawar change his mind overnight to join his Government, Mr Rao quipped "I don't know. I only know he is joining the Cabinet."

Mr Rao said Mr Pawar could move to the Center only after his successor had been chosen.

Asked if the new chief minister of Maharashtra would be a nominee of Mr Sharad Pawar, Mr Rao said he would be a man of the State Legislature Party.

The north and south get almost equal representation in the Union Council of Ministers as a whole. However, while there are 10 ministers from the north in the Cabinet, there are only four from the south. In the ministers of state category, the south outnumbers north with 19 in the council. The north has 14 ministers.

There are six ministers from the west including two of Cabinet rank and seven ministers from eastern India.

All the four party nominees who were returned from Uttar Pradesh have been included in the Ministry. They are Mrs Sheila Kaul, Mr Kalpnath Rai, Mr Ramlal Rahi and Salman Khurshid.

There are 28 first timers in the Ministry, including former RBI [Reserve Bank of India] Governor, Dr Manmohan Singh, who has been given the Cabinet rank.

Among those making a ministerial debut are four ministers of state with independent charge, 14 ministers of state and all the seven deputy ministers. Eleven of the debutante ministers hail from the south.

The ministers of state with independent charge, who are making it for the first time, are Mr Tarun Gogoi, Mr Kamal Nath, Mr K. Ramamurthi and Mr Balram Singh Yadav.

Only eight ministers of state have previous ministerial experience at the Center. The 14 new faces include Mr Kamalludin Ahmed, Ms Mamta Banerjee, former Pondicherry Chief Minister M. O. H. Farooq, Mr R. Kumaramangalam and Prof P. J. Kurien, chief whip of the party in the previous Lok Sabha.

The other debutante ministers of state are former Orissa PCC(I) [Pradesh Congress Committee-India] chief K. C. Lenka, Mr Chinta Mohan, Mr Shantaram Potduke, Mr

M. Ramachandran, Mr Rudrapratap Singh, Mr G. Venkatasamy, newspaper owner Rameshwar Thakur and Mrs D. K. Taradevi.

The seven deputy ministers, all of whom are first timers, are Mr Salman Khurshid, Mrs K. Kamala Kumari, Mr Girija Vyas, Mr P. V. Rangayya Naidu, Mr Pawan Singh Chakowar, Mr Ram Lal Rahi and Mr S. B. Nyamagouda.

Twelve Congress(I) MPs from the Rajya Sabha have been accommodated in the Council of Ministers including five of Cabinet rank. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao is among the two Cabinet ministers who are not members of either House.

### Balanced Representation

91AS1096B Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
22 Jun 91 p 8

[Text] By including fifty-seven members in a three tier Council of Ministers, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao has ensured that almost a quarter of the newly-elected Congress(I) MPs [Members of Parliament] are rewarded with public office. The Maharashtra Chief Minister, Mr Sharad Pawar, who was a leading contender for the Prime Minister's berth, has resiled from his earlier decision to stay put in Maharashtra and agreed to join the Cabinet. Mr Pawar had himself ruled out the possibility of being the Deputy Prime Minister in keeping with his stated principle that he did not believe in dual centers of authority. In doing so he has eliminated the anachronism that had been briefly revived by Mr Devi Lal. There is little doubt, however, that Mr Pawar will soon be invested with a portfolio that reflects his stature in the Cabinet as the leader of the 37-member contingent that has been returned from Maharashtra. Indeed, Maharashtra is likely to bag another important portfolio given the presence of Mr S. B. Chavan in the 15-member upper tier of the Ministry. Even if Mr Pawar has forfeited his claims for the time being, he should be able to make good his lack of experience at the Center over the next few years.

Madhya Pradesh appears to have been even more handsomely acknowledged—at least on the numbers' count—by the inclusion of Mr Arjun Singh, Mr Madhavrao Scindia and Mr V. C. Shukla in the Cabinet. Karnataka can be well looked after by the presence of Mr C. K. Jaffer Sharief and Mr B. Shankaranand as Cabinet Ministers and Ms Margaret Alva and Mrs K. K. Taradevi as Ministers of State. The inclusion of the noted economist Dr Manmohan Singh is an obvious reminder of the formidable economic problems that the country has to tide over, while those of Mr M. L. Fotedar, Mr Sitaram Kesari and Mr Ghulam Nabi Azad are a testimonial of the leverage the "coterie" retains. The choice of Ministers of State reveals a fair deal for Kerala and more than adequate representation for West Bengal.

The formation of the Council of Ministers reflects an exercise in balancing interest groups within the party

while rewarding those States which were instrumental in bringing it back to power. Mr Rao has attempted to contain possible dissent by bottling the genie. In all fairness, how efficiently the Ministry will perform should be assessed in the future which will provide no dearth of tests for the new team.

### Central Ministers Profiled

91AS1096C Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
22 Jun 91 p 3

[Text] New Delhi, June 21. (PTI)—Following are the profiles of the ministers who were sworn in today.

Shankararao Bhaurao Chavan is a seasoned professional politician and a keen parliamentarian who is widely respected for his sobriety and serious-minded approach.

Born on July 14, 1920 at Paithan in Aurangabad in Maharashtra, he graduated from Madras University and took his law degree from Osmania University.

He was a Deputy Minister for Revenue in the former Bombay State Ministry formed after the reorganization of states in November 1956. He continued to be a minister till 1975.

He was Chief Minister of Maharashtra from 1975 to 1977.

He joined the Central Cabinet in 1980 and was Minister for Planning and Minister for Defence. As Finance Minister, Mr Chavan presented the Union Budget for 1989-90.

Mr Arjun Singh, who is a former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh and former Governor of Punjab, has the knack of bouncing back to the center-stage from near wilderness.

He proved his exceptional abilities as a trouble-shooter when, within hours of his election as Chief Minister, he was called upon to take the gubernatorial assignment in Punjab. He was instrumental in conducting popular elections in the strife-torn state and installing a popular Ministry. He also paved the way for the Rajiv-Longowal accord.

Born on November 5, 1930 at Churhat in the Sidhi District of Madhya Pradesh, Mr Arjun Singh belongs to a princely family.

Mr Balram Jakhar, who had been Lok Sabha Speaker for nearly a decade, assumes a new responsibility as a Cabinet Minister. But the 68-year-old tall parliamentarian is very experienced and familiar with the task and nuances of running the Government, having handled politicians of all hues in the Lok Sabha.

Mr Jakhar, who regained his Sikar seat in Rajasthan in this election having lost it in 1989 in the Janata wave, made a late debut in politics in 1972, when he got himself elected to the Punjab Assembly and was a State Minister.

After the upheavals of 1977 when the Congress(I) was ousted from power he found himself as Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly. His performance here got him a berth to the Lok Sabha in 1980.

A political heavyweight from Madhya Pradesh, Mr Vidya Charan Shukla brings to the government a wealth of political and administrative experience. Born on August 2, 1929 at Raipur, he is the son of the late Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, who was a prominent leader during the freedom struggle and was the first Chief Minister of the State.

Starting as Deputy Minister for Communications and Parliamentary Affairs in 1966, he held several portfolios, till the Congress(I) rout in the 1977 elections. When Indira Gandhi came back to power in 1980, he was made Minister of Civil Supplies. He was dropped sometime later. Mr Rajiv Gandhi never included him in his Government.

Although one of the four prominent Congressmen to join Mr V. P. Singh, he was kept on tenterhooks during the entire 11 months of the National Front regime.

He joined the Chandra Shekhar camp and held the prestigious portfolio of external affairs. A few weeks before the elections he returned to the Congress(I).

Mr P. Chidambaram, former Minister of State for Personnel and Public Grievances in the Rajiv Gandhi Cabinet from 1986 to 1989, is also a senior advocate of the Supreme Court.

Born on September 16, 1945 at Kandanur in Muthuramalingam District of Tamil Nadu, Mr Chidambaram was educated at Presidency College and Law College, Madras and Harvard Business School.

Mr Madhavrao Scindia, The Prince of Gwalior is an MA from Oxford University. At 46, Mr Scindia has earned a mark as a dynamic Minister and seasoned parliamentarian.

Mr Scindia, who is representing the Gwalior Lok Sabha constituency for the seventh time now, served as the Minister of State for Railways in the Rajiv Gandhi Cabinet.

He was also one of the very few Union Ministers who retained their portfolios despite 33 reshuffles.

A keen cricketer, he is currently President of the Board of Control for Cricket in India.

A surprise entrant in the Union Cabinet is Dr Man Mohan Singh, a distinguished economist totally new to politics.

Well known for his pragmatic views and sound economic analysis, Dr Singh brings to his office rich experience in economic administration as Economic Affairs Secretary, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, deputy

Chairman of the Planning Commission and Secretary-General of the South Commission to mention but a few.

A soft-spoken and unassuming person, Dr Singh also has long experience of teaching economics, particularly in the prestigious Delhi School of Economics. An expert in international trade he has to his credit several awards from the best universities in the West.

Known as "bureaucrat economist," Dr Man Mohan Singh will be 59 this September.

Maternal aunt of Indira Gandhi, Mrs Sheila Kaul, (76) has distinguished herself as a front runner in the emancipation of women in India.

Born in Lahore and a graduate from the erstwhile Punjab University, Mrs Kaul was appointed Education Minister in the Indira Gandhi Ministry in 1980. She was also member of the UP [Uttar Pradesh] Legislative Assembly from 1968 to 1971.

Mrs Kaul entered the Lok Sabha for the first time when she won the 1971 mid-term poll from Lucknow where she has lived most of her married life.

A former Squadron Leader in the Indian Air Force, Mr Rajesh Pilot represents Dausa, Rajasthan, in the Lok Sabha.

An upcoming peasant leader, Mr Pilot, formerly Rajeshwar Prasad, rose into prominence early in his political career of over a decade for his skillful handling of the Assam agitation and formulating the Assam accord which paved the way for the Assam Assembly elections in 1983.

The high-point of his career came when Indira Gandhi deputed him to take care of the Congress(I)'s interests in the north-east.

Mr Ajit Kumar Panja, who was elected to the Lok Sabha from the Calcutta (north-east) constituency, defeating former Union Education Minister Pratap Chandra Chunder, is a barrister-at-law.

Educated at Scottish Church College, Calcutta, Mr Panja was Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting and Planning in the Union Cabinet.

He was President of the State unit of Congress(I) from March 1980 to August 1981.

Mr Panja held several portfolios in the Congress Ministry in West Bengal.

Young fire-brand Congress(I) leader from West Bengal and President of the Youth Congress(I), Ms Mamata Bannerjee (36) defeated CPM [Marxist Communist Party] heavy-weight Biplab Dasgupta from the Calcutta South parliamentary constituency.

With her lower-middle class family background, she has made a mark for herself as the stormy petrel of West

Bengal politics. Her three-month confinement to hospital following an attack by toughs during a Congress(I) bundh in August last year, turned out to be a blessing in disguise as she returned to the political arena with more zest.

Mr Vazhapadi Ramamurthi, who has been elected to the Lok Sabha for the fifth time in a row, comes into the Union Council of Ministers for the first time.

Hailing from a farmers' family in Salem District of Tamil Nadu, Mr Ramamurthi is a veteran trade union leader. The 52-year-old Mr Ramamurthi began his political career with the Dravida Kazhagam and moved over to the Congress(I) in 1971. He served in several capacities in the Congress(I) before making it to the presidency of the Tamil Nadu unit of the party in 1989.

Prof P. J. Kurien, an academic-cum-politician, is a professor of physics and represents the Idukki parliamentary constituency in Kerala.

An active participant in the co-operative movement, he was the executive member of the Kerala State Co-operative Marketing Federation.

Mr S. Krishnakumar, who is a bureaucrat-turned-politician, served as the Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting in the Rajiv Gandhi Government.

As an IAS [Indian Administrative Service] officer, he served in his native Kerala in various capacities. He quit IAS in 1980 to join the Congress(I) and now represents the Quilon constituency in the Lok Sabha.

A technocrat and recipient of many awards for distinguished work, Mr Krishnakumar is the founder-Chairman of the Kerala State Civil Supplies Corporation.

Mr Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, born in Kurnool in 1920, is a freedom fighter and an experienced administrator. A man who has a simple and disciplined lifestyle, he became Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister in September 1982.

Once identified as a close follower of Brahmananda Reddy, he was invited by the latter to join his Ministry even when the former was not an MLA [Member of Legislative Assembly]. He was Finance Minister in the Bhavanam Venkatram Cabinet in 1971. He later replaced Mr Venkatram as Chief Minister in 1982.

Mr Bahram Singh Yadav, a veteran Congressman from Uttar Pradesh, has had long innings in State politics before he jumped into the national fray.

The 52-year-old Mr Yadav represented the Mainpuri parliamentary constituency in the eighth Lok Sabha.

### Karnataka Ministers Profiled

91AS1096D Bangalore DECCAN HERALD in English  
22 Jun 91 p 3

[Text] Bangalore, June 21.—The following are the profiles of the three MPs [Members of Parliament] from Karnataka who were inducted into the P. V. Narasimha Rao Council of Ministers in New Delhi today. Two other Karnataka MPs chosen for ministerial berths—Mrs D. K. Taradevi of Chikmagalur and Mr Siddu Nyamagouda of Bagalkot—are yet to be sworn in.

#### B. Shankaranand

Mr Shankaranand was born in Chikkodi, Belgaum district, on October 19, 1925. After schooling in Chikkodi and Bijapur, he studied law in Bombay and was a practicing advocate for sometime.

Previously associated with the Republican Party and the Praja Socialist Party, he was first elected to the Lok Sabha on a Congress ticket from the Chikkodi (SC) [Scheduled Castes] constituency in 1967. He has won all elections from Chikkodi since 1967 and his present seventh term is a record.

Mr Shankaranand has been a minister in almost all Congress governments at the Center since 1971. Starting as Deputy Minister for Parliamentary Affairs in 1971, he held the Cabinet rank in the Indira and Rajiv Gandhi governments. Among the portfolios he has handled are Education, social Welfare, law and Water Resources. He was Chief Whip of the Congress(I) in Parliament from 1977 to 1979, when the party was in Opposition. He was a delegate to the UN General Assembly in 1969. He headed the joint parliamentary committee which inquired into the Bofors gun deal.

A prominent leader from the Harijan community, he has been associated with several cooperative societies and associations formed for the benefit of the weaker sections of society.

#### C.K. Jaffer Sharief

Mr Sharief was born in Challakere, Chitradurga district, on November 3, 1933.

A social worker, he was elected to the Lok Sabha on a Congress ticket from Kanakapura in 1971. In all five subsequent elections, including the latest, he was returned to the Lok Sabha from Bangalore North.

He was Union Minister of State for Railways from 1980 to 1984 and played a key role in the establishment of the Wheel and Axle Plant in Yelahanka and the container terminal Bangalore. He played an important role in consultative committees associated with the Ministries of Energy and Health and Family Planning. He was also AICC [All India Congress Committee] General Secretary for some time.

**Margaret Alva**

Mrs Alva was born in Mangalore on April 14, 1942. An alumnus of the Mount Carmel College and the Government Law College of Bangalore, she was Joint Secretary of the Law College Students' Union. She is the daughter-in-law of the late Mr Joachim and Mrs Violet Alva, the first couple in the Indian Parliament. As a lawyer in the Supreme Court, she successfully fought against sexist practices in public employment.

A sitting member of the Rajya Sabha, Mrs Alva was first elected to the House in 1974, and was re-elected in 1980 and 1986. She has served as a member of the important parliamentary committees on dowry prohibition, marriage laws and equal remuneration for men and women.

A former President of the World Women Parliamentarians for Peace and Chairperson of the first ministerial meeting of the SAARC [South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation] countries on "women in Development," she was the first National Convener of the Mahila Congress.

She took interest as a member of the parliamentary consultative committee on foreign affairs. She was also a member of the Indian delegation to the UN General Assembly in 1976.

**Fresh Look at Indo-Soviet Trade Urged**

91AS1128A Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN  
in English 26 May 91 p 6

**[Editorial—"Rouble Trouble"]**

[Text] In view of an increasing tendency to question the fairness of the rupee-rouble exchange rate and the special benefits, if any, of the rupee trade arrangement with the Soviet Union, the time has perhaps come to take a fresh look at the entire matter. This is not to deny that the Indo-Soviet trade protocols, the latest of which provides for a turnover of Rs.[rupees] 9,411 crores, have benefited both countries; but changes over the past decade, especially in the Soviet Union, affect the very basis of the old arrangements. A recent example of the problems this has resulted in is provided by complaints from importers of non-ferrous metal from the Soviet Union who are facing difficulties in getting supplies. The visit to Moscow of a delegation from the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation may sort out problems for the time being, but the point remains that Soviet exporters would much rather sell in hard currency markets than in the rupee area, indicating that Soviet exports to India will be sluggish from now on which, under the balanced rupee-trade arrangement, cannot but also affect Indian exports. There has been a problem with newsprint purchases, too, Soviet suppliers having made it clear that they will not be able to meet their 1991-92 commitments of around 70,000 tonnes, the 1990 trade plan requirement of 80,000 tonnes of exports to this country not having been fulfilled by the first week of April.

As far as parity—the basis of trade between the two countries—is concerned, it is rightly emphasized that the rouble is so grossly overvalued that the Soviets are getting their imports from India dirt cheap and at the expense of the Indian exporter. The point has also been made that rising sales to the USSR mean that India has foolishly been losing precious foreign exchange. According to one estimate, Indian exporters used more than Rs. 3,000 crores worth of inputs, paid for in hard currency, for Rs. 5,875 crores worth of rupee-payment exports to the Soviet Union. What it boils down to is that rupee-rouble parity and, indeed, the entire rupee trade arrangement appear to have outlived their usefulness.

**IRAN****Barzani Peace Efforts, Talabani Objections Discussed**

NC0807082991 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES  
INTERNATIONAL WEEKLY in English 27 Jun 91

[Editorial: "Autonomy Talks Distorted by Financial Issues"]

[Text] Leaders of the two major Kurdish guerrilla groups were to meet on Wednesday in Northern Iraq. Mas'ud Barzani, leader of the Kurdish Democratic Party, who had been staying in Baghdad for the past few days, has returned to the Kurdish region to meet and discuss with Jalal Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, the second largest of the Kurdish guerrilla groups. Barzani, who has apparently reached agreement with the central government on the main points of the autonomy talks, will try to convince Talabani to go along with him on the accord.

According to the agreement reached between Barzani and Saddam, democratic elections are to be held in the Kurdistan region within the coming three months, and in other parts of the country before the next nine months. But informed political observers believe that this part of the agreement represents only a cunning maneuver on the part of the Ba'hist Party to minimize internal and external pressure on the Baghdad regime. For it is quite obvious that a free and democratic general election in Iraq would mean political suicide for the Iraqi regime, and it can be anticipated that the regime will either find pretexts for postponing the election indefinitely, or it will conduct a sham and perfunctory election with foreseeable results.

There are many ambiguities concerning Barzani's acceptance of the pact offered by Saddam. On the other hand, Jalal Talabani, who is a much more sophisticated politician and was actually the initiator of the rapprochement with Baghdad and the first guerrilla leader to have met Saddam after the recent crisis, has now changed his views and believes the agreement reached between Barzani and Saddam is insufficient to guarantee Kurdish autonomy.

Talabani objections of course do not represent the real interests of the Iraqi people, and are centred on the issue of division of revenues from the Karkuk oil-fields. As a matter of fact such financial demands do not fall within the framework of the autonomy issues, and requesting shares of revenues from oil-fields which happen to lie in the Kurdish area does not represent the attitude of someone negotiating for regional autonomy. Such a demand is outside the framework of the Iraqi national interest, and implants roots of instability in the government.

And although the present Iraqi regime led by Saddam Husayn has lost its legitimacy, it would be a mistake to wrest from it concessions in a moment of weakness which could be unacceptable by the future regime in Iraq and might lead to the disintegration of Iraq.

### **Reza'i Addresses Afghan Mujahidin Leaders**

*LD1207200191 Tehran Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran in English 1830 GMT 12 Jul 91*

[Text] More than 100 leaders and military commanders of the Afghan Muslim Mujahidin met with the commander of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps [IRGC], Mohsen Reza'i. Speaking during the meeting, held at the Islamic Republic of Iran's Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, the IRGC commander said: Old issues of the Islamic world cannot be resolved without strengthening unity among the Muslim ranks. While pointing out that the world imperialism and atheism have mobilized their entire resources and power against the Muslims, he said: All problems, including the issues of Palestine, Afghanistan, and Kashmir, should be resolved by raising the banner of unity. Mr. Mohsen Reza'i added that if the world powers allow, the Islamic revolution may achieve final victory in Afghanistan.

### **Editorial Views Increasing Gulf States Ties**

*NC0407173091 Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 26 Jun 91 p 2*

[Editorial: "Bonds Among Islamic Nations"]

[Text] The Iranian and Saudi Arabian Foreign Ministers, Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati and Sa'ud al-Faysal met and discussed subjects of mutual interest and bilateral times last Sunday in Mena, Saudi Arabia. Dr. Velayati also took part at the annual meeting of heads of pilgrims' caravans with King Fahd. Among the subjects discussed at the latter meeting was the restoration of the Baqi' cemetery.

Although relations between Tehran and Riyadh have been improving of late, Dr. Velayati's presence in Saudi Arabia, his participation at the Hajj ceremonies this year, and his meetings and negotiations with the Saudi authorities has been evaluated as a turning point in the history of relationships between the two countries which are among the most important and greatest of the Muslim countries in the region.

Sa'ud al-Faysal's remarks on the Saudi Arabia's readiness to expand ties with Tehran, and the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council [PGCC] countries' desire for increased cooperation with Iran also corroborate the same conclusion.

The illogical supposition that the Islamic Republic of Iran posed threats for its neighbors—an idea which had been fostered by the enemies of the Islamic state since its inception—has now been shown to be baseless. At the same time other thorny problems such as that of the Baqi' cemetery, which is highly venerated by Muslims have also been settled. All these are propitious signs for the improvement of ties among the Muslim nations of the region. The strengthening of ties between Iran and the Persian Gulf states must be regarded as a significant development in two respects:

1. The improvement of relations between the Muslim countries in the region could have a strong effect in the settlement of all kinds of issues among Muslim nations in other parts of the world. And in view of the potential economic and political powers of the Islamic countries, closer cooperation among them could have a decisive role in resolving many of their problems. Furthermore the recent developments in international relations provides a new framework within which the adoption of common stances on economic and political issues by the Islamic countries would enable them to acquire a much more effective role in shaping the new world economic and political networks and in preventing the imposition of unfair relations on the Islamic world by other countries.
2. Improvement of ties between the Muslim nations of the Persian Gulf region is highly important in view of the recent regional crisis and the economic and strategic significance of the area for the world.

There is little doubt that the most reliable scheme of security for the region could only be worked out by the countries of the area themselves. It should be remembered that the Islamic nations are much more sensitive to, and resentful of, the presence of foreign troops in their countries. This is at once the most economic method of ensuring security in the region, and it has the added advantage of taking into account the national independence and prestige of the nations in the area.

### **Brazil Seeking Additional Crude Oil in Trade**

*LD0707180291 Tehran IRNA in English 1621 GMT 7 Jul 91*

[Text] Tehran, July 7, IRNA—Brazilian companies are ready to supply part of the goods needed by the Islamic Republic of Iran, Minister of Infrastructure Joao Santana announced here today.

Santana in a meeting with Commerce Minister 'Abdol Hoseyn Vahaji also demanded more Iranian crude oil in return for Brazilian-made commodities.

Vahhaji referred to the export of the non-oil goods to Brazil in a bid to balance the mutual trade exchanges between the two countries.

Meanwhile, Santana inked an agreement with Head of the Foundation for the Oppressed and Disabled Mohsen Rafiqdust for the joint production of rehabilitation equipments for disabled Iranians.

The two sides also agreed to cooperate in the area of training rehabilitation experts.

Santana arrived here last Thursday for a four-day visit.

### **Daily on Reestablishment of Relations With Egypt**

*NC1407112391 Tehran KEYHAN in Persian  
2 Jul 91 p 28*

[Commentary by Seyyed Mas'ud Jazayeri: "Egypt—The Forgotten Camp David"]

[Excerpts] During his recent interview—and despite what was being said until now—our foreign minister stated that progress has been achieved in Tehran-Cairo relations. [passage omitted]

Thinking of the reasons which prompted Imam Khomeyni, may his soul be sanctified, to sever relations with the Camp David regime of Egypt clearly show how he drew a line between true opposition to this and the

contradictory stands taken by other countries. Whether this line drawn by the founder of the new Islamic order is maintained is the criterion by which revolution and counterrevolution is measured in the region.

Egypt is among the few countries with which the Islamic Republic severed its relations, and it is specifically the only regime against which the Imam personally adopted the stance he did. The reason for this was that Egypt tore down its wall with Israel and indecently reestablished relations with the Zionists. Actually, Camp David was the starting point for a successful campaign to negate confrontation with Israel—something which the region is witnessing today.

Preventing this process, reducing its speed, and preventing the acceleration of the normalization of relations between other Arab and Islamic countries and Israel should be shown through deeds and not by words in political, diplomatic, and other actions. The unilateral turn to Egypt by Iran, which is a process that unfortunately has been continuing overtly since the release of Egyptian mercenaries who fought during the imposed war and a process that is bringing about changes with the elevation of relations—as stated by the foreign minister—do not conform with the criteria set by the Imam. The region will witness bilateral and multilateral talks with Israel in the future. But some space should at least be allowed for us to express our irritation, if need be!

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